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FBIS-EEU-94-244 *20 December 1994*

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Foreign Ministry Statement on Tetovo University

LD1912221794 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian Foreign Ministry has expressed concern about the tense situation in Macedonia and the use of violence to hinder the opening of the Tetovo Albanian-language university.

The recognition of fundamental human rights for all the peoples of our region serves the enhancement of the democratic states and the long-term relations between them. Being very much concerned for the stability and cooperation with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Albania thinks that the affirmation of the right for education of the Albanians of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, in conformity with the international acts and the Macedonian legislation, serves the stability of Macedonia.

The Albanians have made this (?their) case in a legal way. It is based on the Article 45 of the Macedonian Constitution that recognizes the citizens of the state the right to open private schools of all the levels except the primary ones, and the Articles 222 and 228 of the Macedonian Law on Education. It is approved by the assembly of the Tetovo, Gostivar, and Debar communes and it is backed by all the Albanian political forces.

The statement of the Albanian Foreign Ministry goes on by saying: The opening of this university is a legitimate need of the Albanians for high schools. The Albanian students in the university of Skopje and Monastir make up only two percent of the general number of the students, while the number of the Albanians in the state administration is three percent, at a time when the official figure on the number of the Albanians in Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia is 23 percent. The Tetovo University is to fill a gap inherited from the past and fulfill the commitment of the Macedonian president and government for the integration of the Albanians with the Macedonian state.

The educated Albanians do not threaten the stability of Macedonia. On the contrary, they are to increase their participationary [as heard] role as citizens of this republic to strengthen its stability. Otherwise, the discrimination of the Albanians is in the favor of the old regime nostalgics [as heard], who aim to cause conflicts in the new Macedonian state.

The use of violence to crush the aspiration of the Albanians to graduate in their mother tongue is unacceptable, not only for the Albanians wherever they are, but even for the Macedonian democratic forces and the international community.

The Albanian Foreign Ministry supports with determination the (?promotion) of the state of law and European standards in all the territories where the Albanians live. Albania as well contributes to the high graduation of the Albanians of Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, cannot afford their graduation in the universities of the Republic of Albania [sentence as heard]. Albania can offer the help of its educational institutions, who, in cooperation with the Macedonian authorities, can contribute to the successful activity of the Tetovo University and other educational institutions in Albanian language in this republic. Such a practice has proved successful formerly between the educational institutions of Albania and former Yugoslavia.

The Albanian Foreign Ministry thinks that such a cooperation will serve the harmony and the long-term interests of our peoples, and the whole region in general. It points out that it is not the violence against the Albanians, but a dialogue in good understanding the conditions for the ethnic harmony in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. [sentence as heard] (?They will respond toward) the efforts our governments and countries have made for the development of cooperation and good understanding. [sentence as heard]

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Police Seize 3 kg of 'Highly Enriched Uranium'

AU1912150594 Paris AFP in English 1428 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Dec 19 (AFP)—Czech police have seized three kilograms (6.6 pounds) of highly enriched uranium which can be used for nuclear bomb-making and have arrested three men, a Interior Ministry spokesman said here Monday.

The uranium 235 from the former Soviet Union was 90-percent enriched and was found in two cylindrical containers, accompanied by Russian certificates. Three men, two former Soviet citizens and a Czech, were arrested and charged with illegal possession of nuclear material.

'Nuclear Physicist' Arrested

AU1912153394 Paris AFP in English 1506 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prague, Dec 19 (AFP)—Czech police have seized three kilograms (6.6 pounds) of highly-enriched uranium which can be used for nuclear bomb-making, an Interior Ministry spokesman said here Monday.

Three men have also been arrested in connection with the find.

The 90-percent enriched uranium 235 from the former Soviet Union was found on Wednesday in a car, held in two cylindrical containers, accompanied by Russian certificates.

The three men, two former Soviet citizens and a Czech nuclear physicist, were arrested and charged with illegal possession of nuclear material, a senior police officer said. The Czech scientist has not been officially employed in the nuclear industry for several years, police said. Interior Ministry spokesman Jan Subert said the uranium was worth "several dozen million dollars".

Czech specialists were currently analyzing the uranium and preparing a report for the International Atomic Energy Agency. Until now only small amounts of nuclear material have been seized, notably in Germany, and specialists here believe this is the first time a special order of weapon-grade material has come to light.

Daily Assesses Ministry Report

AU1912155194 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 17 Dec 94 p 12

[Report by "gag, il": "Uranium Smugglers in the Hands of the Police"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A substantial amount of a strategic radioactive material was seized by the police in cooperation with the BIS [Security and Information Service] in Prague on Wednesday [14 December]. This was reported by Interior Ministry Spokesman Jan Subert yesterday. The accessible data indicate that the substance is uranium. According to the spokesman, the substance is stored safely and there is no danger to the public.

LIDOVE NOVINY managed to establish that the fissile material seized by the police was stored in special containers. Thus, it is very likely that the transit through the territory of the Czech Republic was not organized by several amateurs, but rather a well-organized and experienced gang. Experts claim that because of its location in Central Europe, the Czech Republic is an appealing place for smuggling "of all kinds"—be it narcotics, weapons, or fissile substances. Although the world market is saturated with them, they remain inaccessible to certain countries (Iraq, Iran, North Korea, Pakistan, or Bangladesh). The impetus for the illegal trade is, according to experts from the Nuclear Research Institute in Rez near Prague, the efforts of these countries to obtain the amount of plutonium or uranium needed.

Fissile material is, according to the facts, most easily accessible in the countries of the former USSR. Experts capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons (allegedly as many as 158,000 of them) left this region earlier. They lack only one thing—quality fissile material, the costly production of which (a gram of plutonium 239 costs approximately 5,000 korunas) only a few world powers can afford.

The rapid deployment unit took over the Mosnov airport in 1991 on the suspicion that containers with so-called red mercury were hidden there. The failed police operation is assessed by experts as purpose-oriented provocation that was supposed—in addition to the readiness of the Czech special services—to check the optimum transport channels for fissile material.

Officials Prevent Illegal Export of Semtex

LD2012084794 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0800 GMT 20 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Staff of the license administration department of the Ministry of Industry and Trade prevented the fraudulent export of 28 tonnes of Semtex explosive. The destination of the shipment was probably Croatia, since some time ago Croatia had applied for 28 tonnes of Semtex to be imported, allegedly to clear away ruins from war-stricken areas. According to the licence application, the explosives should have been exported to Chad. The illegal transaction was dislosed by the Czech ambassador to Niger, who is also accredited to neighboring Chad. He found out that the stamp and signature of the Czech defense minister had been falsified.

Zieleniec Calls For 'Defined' Security Structures

AU1612200494 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 12 Dec 94 p 1

[CTK report: "Zieleniec: Defined Security Structures"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—It is important for Europe to have "defined" economic and security structures, "because, unless this is the case, they would represent a challenge to everyone to compete for the given region," said Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec yesterday on Czech Television's "Debate" program in connection with the issues associated with the Czech Republic's entry into NATO and the European Union [EU]. In connection with the reservations expressed by Russia about the rapid affiliation of the Czech Republic and the other countries of the former eastern bloc to NATO, Zieleniec pointed out that "we are living in a more secure Europe than the Europe of ideological conflict between East and West." According to him, it is natural that "since we have lived throughout our thousand year history with states and peoples of a western cultural tendency, there is no reason for us not to continue living this history with them." These states-make up the EU and NATO, therefore, the minister sees no reason for the Czech Republic to remain outside these organizations.

[Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech on 12 December on page 2, under the headline "A Solution Is Up To the Warring Sides," carries a 250-word unattributed report on Josef Zieleniec's appearance on the same television program. This report quotes Zieleniec as saying in connection with the conflict in the former Yugoslavia that "those conducting the war have to find a solution." The report goes on to say: "In his opinion, the United Nations cannot resolve such complicated conflicts as this one. However, the United Nations can help the warring sides conduct negotiations and the UNPROFOR [Un Protection Force] troops also play an important role in separating the warring sides."]

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Government Appoints State Secretaries, Officials

AU1912205994 Bratislava SME in Slovak 16 Dec 94 pp 1,2

[Report by "asa": "Government Was Dismissing and Appointing at Its First Meeting"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bratislava—[passage omitted] Effective 15 December 1994, the government recalled Jan Filko, LD, candidate of sciences, from the post of head of the Slovak Government Office and appointed Engineer Zdenka Kramplova to that post. Effective 15 December 1994, the government recalled 13 state secretaries and 8 heads of ministerial offices from their posts.

The Government of the Slovak Republic appointed:

Stefan Zelnik, MD, as state secretary at the Ministry of Health of the Slovak Republic;

Lubomir Dobrik, LD, as state secretary at the Ministry of Justice of the Slovak Republic;

Olga Salagova, MA, as state secretary at the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic;

Eng. Jozef Sestak as state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Slovak Republic;

Eng. Pavol Kacic as state secretary at the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic;

Eng. Rudolf Autner as state secretary at the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic;

Eng. Jozef Magula as state secretary at the Ministry of Finance of the Slovak Republic;

Eng. Jozef Brhel as state secretary at the Ministry of Economy of the Slovak Republic;

Eng. Marian Lipka, candidate of sciences, as state secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture of the Slovak Republic;

Docent Eng. Norbert M. Benuska, doctor of veterinary medicine, candidate of sciences, as state secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture of the Slovak Republic;

Pavol Kendra, LD, as state secretary at the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property of the Slovak Republic; and

Eng. Jozef Gajdos as state secretary at the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic.

The Government of the Slovak Republic further appointed:

Tibor Gaplovsky, LD, as head of the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic Office;

Eng. Jan Repasky as head of the Ministry of Defense of the Slovak Republic Office;

Eng. Ladislav Slebodnik as head of the Ministry of Environment Office;

Docent Jozef Kralik, LD, as head of the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic Office;

and Igor Chamula, MA, as head of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Slovak Republic Office.

The Government of the Slovak Republic recalled Ivan Melicharcik, PhD, from the post of director general of TASR and appointed Dusan Kleiman, LD, to that post.

The Government of the Slovak Republic abolished the resolution of the Government of the Slovak Republic of 6 December 1994 regarding the proposal to appoint a Slovak Government commissioner and deputy commissioner for preparing the establishment of a Slovak-Russian commercial bank.

Meciar Resolved To Change 'Political Mechanism'

AU1912210394 Bratislava SME in Slovak 15 Dec 94 p 2

[FBIS Translated Text] After the festive appointment of the new government [in Bratislava on 13 December], Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar held an improvised news conference for media representatives. SME asked him the following questions:

[Correspondent Peter Toth] Do you expect the program of the government's legislative tasks to include an amendment to the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, that is, a change to the constitutional system?

[Meciar] The functioning of the political system must be assessed first. We have a new state and political mechanism, a party mechanism, and a parliamentary mechanism. First it is necessary to agree on the causes of the crisis of 1994. From this crisis, it will also be possible to draw probable conclusions about the evolution of this mechanism. It is beyond doubt that our mechanism will be a democratic one. But even within the framework of democratic structures, each state has its own system that is adapted to its conditions. We consider it necessary to undertake something in this regard. It is impossible to tolerate a situation in which the Constitutional Court, by interpreting the law, expands or changes the constitution. The crisis does not dwell in the Constitution. It dwells in the fact that, even though the Constitution has been in force since 1992, no regulations have been issued to date on how to execute it. Hence, when it comes to executing the Constitution, the executory provisions are always set against the norm of the Constitution and turn it upside down. It is necessary to uncover the causes of the crisis of the political and legal mechanism and base the therapy on that. We are going to deal with this issue but speaking about the method would be premature.

[Toth] When addressing this issue, are you going to use the results of the parliamentary commission set up to

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investigate the circumstances of the March developments [that led to the dismissal of Vladimir Meciar's former government]?

[Meciar] This role has been assumed by parliament, which does not have only a repressive function. Suggestions for systemic measures should come mainly from parliament.

[Toth] Will your coalition put forward the law on the protection of the republic?

[Meciar] I have said before that I would be the happiest man if we did not have to do it. But everything depends on what course developments will take. Should developments be heading toward a new clash, we will pass the law. Let no one be in any doubt about that.

[Toth] What kind of a clash would this be?

[Meciar] The threat of political, ethnic, or social unrest of such a nature as would jeopardize the existence of the state.

[Toth] What does that mean?

[Meciar] It means what I just said.

Interior Minister Signals Changes in Ministry

LD1912212394 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Interior Minister Ludovit Hudek, who replaced Ladislav Pittner in this post, met journalists at a brief news conference today. He said that personnel changes will take place, but that they should improve the organizational structure of individual work places. Ludovit Hudek confirmed that two deputies of the police president had resigned. He also outlined possible structural changes in the police corps.

[Begin Hudek recording] The continuing growth of crime will also have to be appropriately dealt with by bodies from within the Interior Ministry. There is a need to set up the best possible organizational structure. Excessive centralization has not yielded the expected results.

We should create conditions that will allow people access to police bodies in the district or area where they live and work. [end recording]

After initial experience, we should eliminate the shortcomings of the Criminal Code, Minister Hudek said. According to the signals he has been receiving, there appears to be some kind of a small-scale conflict within the police force. According to Hudek, the reason for this is the fact that the powers of investigators of criminal service have not been clearly defined in the aforementioned laws.

Moravcik Assesses Outgoing Cabinet's Work

AU1912210694 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Dec 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with outgoing Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by Antonia Vymazalova; place and date not given: "Slovakia Has Had One More Experience"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vymazalova] In the interviews you gave in March, when assuming office, you usually stressed the new government's three priorities—continuing economic and social transformation, abandoning unproductive confrontation, and calming down citizens. How successful were you in fulfilling them?

[Moravcik] We kept the promises we made on assuming responsibility for public matters. As for economic and social transformation, our time frame and our possibilities were limited. Relatively little can be done in six months. However, we adopted all measures with the long-term perspective in mind, assuming that the policy that we charted will be continued. The perhaps most striking expression of the results of economic transformation has been in the sphere of privatization. Though this sphere has been severely criticized, it is beyond doubt that we have made the privatization process more dynamic and moved it significantly forward. We have arranged relations with foreign partners so that Slovakia has the chance, provided it does not spoil it, to become integrated into Europe as a very reliable partner on whom one can count. Macroeconomic indicators, by which the success of transformation is measured most effectively, also demonstrate that our activity has been to the benefit of Slovakia. From the viewpoint of everyone who assesses Slovakia—international institutions and independent experts—we have achieved surprisingly good results in this period.

[Vymazalova] Could you specify them?

[Moravcik] The growth of GDP is, I suppose, the biggest surprise of all. It went up more than 4 percent. The rate of inflation has been kept at the acceptable level of 12 percent, unemployment has been slightly reduced, and foreign currency reserves have grown by a multiple since March and are the highest they have been in the entire history of Slovakia. We have managed to break through negative tendencies in the balances of payments and trade. For the first time Slovakia exports more than it imports. Our currency has been considerably stabilized. Budget management was placed, and maintained, on a solid basis, which is documented by a budget deficit at a level of 14 billion korunas. Vladimir Meciar's words about a 50 billion deficit in the state budget are pure chimera. The budget management of this state this year has been the budget management of a stable state. These are very important facts and very positive signals for the whole world. Even in Slovakia, however, as in all the neighboring Visegrad Four countries, there exist long-lasting problems such as insolvency, poor health of the banks, and the like. Six [pre-election] months plus three [post-election months] have been too short a period to achieve noticeable changes.

[Vymazalova] Besides the overall results, which are positive, there obviously also are problems and shortcomings that you have not eliminated, or the solution of which you have underestimated....

[Moravcik] Besides the problem of insolvency that I have already mentioned, there are also problems in the

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system of taxes. Not all measures adopted by us have been equally successful. For example, we could have been more cautious in raising the value-added tax in the sphere of services—for repairs, minor services for the population, and tourism services. We were rather slow in addressing the problem of electronic cash registers. Finance Minister Rudolf Filkus is issuing a decree that should satisfy small and medium-size businessmen, in particular. There are also other partial problems. We have not succeeded in addressing in a fundamental way the issue of discipline in the sphere of taxes, tax evasion, and so forth. However, this is a longer term process. The important thing is that the overall results in the financial management of the state are favorable. Even representatives of the IMF who are studying our economic performance this year are finding the results surprisingly positive.

[Vymazalova] Your previous evaluations of the coalition government's activity were positive. Does this positive evaluation apply also at the end of its activity?

[Moravcik] The government's activity can really be assessed as a very positive political experience for Slovakia. In the entire period of the government's term of office, in spite of different ideas on the policy of the state, the coalition parties managed to agree to such an extent that stability of the state was guaranteed. This is very important from the viewpoint of further political developments in Slovakia because, as we have been saying from the beginning, at the heart of political stability lies the stability of political parties, which depends on their ability to cooperate effectively. The fact that the Christian Democratic Movement and the Party of the Democratic Left found a modus vivendi of effective cooperation is very promising for Slovakia. It is important, however, that the political parties asserting this political style manage to convince about its effectiveness a greater number of people than they did in the recent parliamentary elections. Their reaction was not as positive as we had expected.

[Vymazalova] The present cabinet was governing under special circumstances, as it was under permanent control of the so-called shadow cabinet. What impact did the shadow cabinet have on the cabinet's work?

[Moravcik] To tell the truth, most reactions on the part of the so-called shadow cabinet were irrational. Essentially, it could not influence our activity in any way because it did not come up with any serious arguments. A shadow cabinet, in the form in which it presented itself in Slovakia, is something absurd and self-serving. It does not have a constitutional foundation in our country, nor is it founded in the brief tradition of the Slovak Republic's independent existence. A shadow cabinet becomes meaningful when it contributes something, when it is a solid opponent. So far, it has not behaved as such; it has concentrated on destructive activity, and, hence, has been absolutely ineffective. As a matter of fact, its ineffectiveness manifested itself fully after the elections when the victorious Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], which was behind the shadow cabinet, proved unable to take over power in a way that would be effective for the whole of Slovakia.

[Vymazalova] Members of the present cabinet frequently proclaim that the government is creating conditions also for its successor. However, the victorious coalition appears to be fundamentally opposed to the draft state budget for next year that has been prepared by your cabinet. Would it be to the benefit of your government if parliament discussed your draft, or if the government did not even submit the draft to parliament?

[Moravcik] Whether something is to the benefit of this government, or not, is completely irrelevant. From the viewpoint of the administration of public matters in the period to come, it is important that a budget be passed that will secure continuity of economic and social policy and that a provisional budget be avoided. We will therefore use even the last moments that are left to us to push through the draft budget and avoid a provisional budget, even though, following the HZDS chairman's statements, this appears to be scarcely probable. Up to the very last moment, we will adjust all our steps to at least soothing our conscience and honoring the responsibility that we feel toward the citizen. We will make a decision on the fate of the draft budget very soon.

[Vymazalova] Your cabinet prepared and approved a number of legislative norms. Looking back from today's perspective, did you devote yourselves to the most pressing problems required by the present?

[Moravcik] We tried. I have doubts, however, as to whether we managed to enforce everything that appears to be necessary from the viewpoint of the present. We assumed that the present government coalition, or some political parties represented in it, would have the chance to continue exercising executive power and we therefore thought that it would be possible to assert some legislative projects after the elections. From this point of view, we consider as a certain shortcoming the failure to pass laws that are important from the viewpoint of media policy, that is, new laws on television, radio, and, possibly, also on the press. We also did not succeed in adopting a law on the nonprofit sector and, from today's viewpoint, we should have perhaps devoted more energy to some social laws, to the social sphere, education, and science. It is now up to the new government whether it will assimilate the laws prepared by us and to what extent it will amend ideas that we have expressed in some conceptual documents.

Finance Minister on Provisional Budget Issues

LD1912200294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Journalists have been briefed on the provisional budget by Sergej Kozlik, deputy prime

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minister and minister of finance. Katarina Belicka was there on behalf of Radiozurnal.

[Begin recording] [Kozlik] If I am to define the provisional budget from the macroeconomic point of view, I can say that it is based on the assumption of a 3 percent growth in GDP. This is in line with the trends of the GDP development so far.

Second, we envisage year-on-year inflation, that is, not a monthly development but a comparison with the same period of the previous year, to be 10 percent. The unemployment rate for the first three months of next year is expected to be less than 15 percent.

Under these circumstances, we expect revenue to rise by approximately 4 percent in the first quarter of 1995. However, I have to point out that such a trend in revenue is not sufficient. I have talked about this already. This is one of the reasons why we have decided in favor of a provisional budget. While drafting the 1995 budget we will have to radically improve the revenue side of the budget. We hope that the government will have debated the draft of the 1995 final state budget by the end of January. The draft will then be submitted to parliament.

At the same time, we will work on the government manifesto. This will be submitted to the Natonal Council on 12 January. The formulation and the drafting of the state budget will be linked to this manifesto.

[Belicka] Could you tell us what is a realistic date for privatization to be resumed? Or, to put it differently, when can the preliminary round begin?

[Kozlik] As for the preliminary round, its date is linked to the completion and re-assessment of the property to be privatized. [passage omitted] I cannot hazard a guess on how long this is going to take. Our original guess was two to three months. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Bank Governor Discusses Monetary Policy

LD1912214294 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On 14 December this year, the foreign currency reserves of the National Bank of Slovakia [NBS]—not counting gold—amounted to $1.66 billion. By the end of November, we had received loans worth almost $460 million from international financial institutions. Journalists were informed about these and other data at today's NBS news conference, at which the bank's governor, Vladimir Masar, assessed monetary development this year and described the monetary policy for next year. Our editor Bibiana Gunisova compiled the following report:

[Gunisova] To start with, NBS Governor Vladimir Masar said that the provisional budget had introduced certain specific elements into the NBS monetary policy. The bank will have to be ready to respond to the state budget. Masar thinks the state budget will be passed when the provisional budget ends, which will be at the end of the first quarter of 1995.

Afterwards he described currency development this year. He said that the main indicator, which affected the currency policy, was the rate of inflation.

[Begin Masar recording] The 1994 currency policy set the rate of inflation at between 10 and 13.2 percent. Over the first 11 months of this year the rate of inflation was 10.9 percent and we expect that annual inflation will be lower than 12 percent. [passage omitted]

On 16 December 1994, the state budget deficit was 18.9 billion Slovak crowns. [passage omitted] This still includes the negative impact of the clearing account with the Czech Republic. To this date this amounts to approximately 7.8 billion Slovak crowns. This means that on 16 December 1994, the net deficit of the state budget was approximately 11.1 billion Slovak crowns.

The basic objective of the monetary policy is to attain single-digit inflation. We think that an 8-percent inflation can be achieved. Our other goal for next year is to sustain the current exchange rate of the Slovak koruna against hard currencies.

Our monetary policy assumes that there will be a 3-percent annual growth of GDP. We are also aiming for the budget deficit to be 3 percent of GDP. We are also aiming at an active balance of payments, (?which should be) 4.2 billion Slovak korunas. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Commentary on Hungarian Draft of Bilateral Treaty

AU1912210294 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Dec 94 p 3

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "Will Slovak-Hungarian Talks on Bilateral Treaty Take Off in the Right Direction?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Teams of experts from the Slovak and Hungarian Ministries of Foreign Affairs will meet in Bratislava today for talks, the aim of which is to draft the bilateral treaty of friendship and goodneighborly relations. The talks will be held shortly after Budapest had sent its draft of this document to Bratislava and four months after the Slovak side had submitted its concept for this document.

It is necessary to take note of the delay in the Hungarian response, which is not the only disproportion. Since it took the Hungarian experts such an excessively long time to formulate their points of departure, Bratislava could have paid Budapest back in its own coin. By proposing a meeting immediately after the receipt of the Hungarian draft, we sent out the signal (and not just to Budapest) that we have a genuine interest in settling mutual relations in a treaty. At the same time, we showed that it is not Slovakia that is playing the none-too-pleasant role of

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the brakeman, although the other side is trying to pass the Old Maid to us and to present us as the brakeman at various international forums.

Even a fleeting glance at the Hungarian draft must evoke astonishment. The number of articles it contains is unusual for an international document of this kind. Moreover, many of these articles go into details that should be addressed in other contractual documents, documents that do not have such far-reaching indicative effects as the basic treaty, but that are more substantive [meritornejsie].

Besides, the overwhelming part of the draft's articles are dedicated—as was to be expected—to the issue of ethnic minorities. Ostensibly, these articles would apply to both parties to the contract. In reality, however, the Hungarian draft contains such a broad range of demands regarding this issue that it can be described, without beating about the bush, as interference in the internal matters of the partner at the negotiating table. It seems that Budapest has not in the least taken into consideration the existence of the Framework Agreement on Ethnic Minorities adopted by the Council of Europe, which has, for all practical purposes, replaced various documents to which the Hungarian draft refers. This agreement states explicitly something completely different about the application of minority rights than the Hungarian draft.

It is worth noting that, almost at the end of the draft, the Hungarian experts inserted a brief article, seemingly by coincidence, according to which the Czechoslovak-Hungarian treaty became invalid as of 1 January 1993. There is one very important hitch here, in that the Hungarian experts want to persuade us that international commitments of the successor states to the former Czechoslovak Federation are invalid. If we agreed to this proposal, we would radically weaken our chances in the dispute over the hydroelectric power project on the Danube. Someone might describe this as a diplomatic attempt to benefit from the other side's possible stupidity. But one could also find less diplomatic terms for this.

It can thus be said, prior to today's talks, that, in view of the proposals submitted, the path toward the conclusion of the treaty will not be easy. It is therefore startling that both Budapest and Bratislava assert in unison that bilateral relations are not as bad as they are thought to be in the two countries themselves and by their neighbors. To confirm this view, however, the two negotiating teams, but mainly the Hungarian one, will have to prove (with the blessing of their political superiors) that they will not demand the impossible and will stick to previously agreed upon standards.

It would be better if we did not have to ask the European Union, for example, for its good services, but if we demonstrated that we are able to agree on a rational solution without mediators. This would be better not just for the sake of the domestic public, but also because of outside views denying both sides' ability to come to an agreement. By agreeing on a rational solution, we would at the same time prove that we are not only serious about our Euro-Atlantic orientation, but also able to implement Western political culture in practice.

[Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 14 December carries on page 2 the following 50-word TASR report: "Expert talks on the preparation of a basic treaty between the Slovak Republic and the Hungarian Republic were held in Bratislava yesterday. The talks were businesslike and constructive in nature and both sides expressed the endeavor to bring their positions closer to one another. The date of the next meeting will be agreed through diplomatic channels."]

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Kovacs, Croatia's Granic Meet; Summary of Talks

LD1912203794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mate Granic and Laszlo Kovacs, the Croatian and Hungarian foreign ministers, signed the minority protection document of the CEI [Central European Initiative] in Budapest today. Following the signing of the document, the two foreign ministers summed up the talks before journalists. Anna Gulyas reports:

[Gulyas] [Passage omitted] Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs said in his summary that next year, the presidents of the two countries will hold a meeting near the border, and later, according to plans, Prime Minister Gyula Horn will make an official visit.

[Begin Kovacs recording] I was very pleased to hear that the Croatian foreign minister is willing to cooperate on every problem I raised, including those that I made notes of during my talks with representatives of Hungarians in Croatia last Friday [16 December] and later forwarded to Mr. Granic. He intends to find a solution to them and stressed that the Croatian Government is ready to examine these problems with goodwill, and to solve them.

We exchanged views on certain international matters, primarily on possible solutions to the Yugoslav crisis. I also told Mr. Granic that Hungary is ready to support Croatia's integration endeavors. I promised support for Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe, which, hopefully, will take place next spring. I also indicated that we are ready to pass on our experiences gained in our relations with the EU [European Union] and NATO, because Croatia is also trying to join the institutions of the Euro-Atlantic integration. For the more countries that join the institutions of Euro-Atlantic integration, the better are the chances for stability in the region and for cooperation between peoples and countries. [end recording]

Opposition Assesses Government's Foreign Policy

AU2012110294 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by Miklos Ritecz: "No Consensus in Hungarian Foreign Policy—Opposition Views on the Horn Government's Diplomatic Activities"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The current Hungarian foreign policy is not based on the consensus of the parliamentary parties. The new government does not wish to use the experiences of the previous foreign political leadership. No progress has been made in the issue of the basic agreements, which proves that it is not possible to deviate significantly from the previous tendency—these, among other things, were said at a seminar on 15 December where Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] and Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] experts assessed the foreign policy of the period since the change of the regime.

Former Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky believed that the tasks of Hungarian foreign policy are still the same as had been drawn up in 1989 and 1990, and which were implemented to a large extent by the government of Jozsef Antall. He noted that his first task was to visit the neighboring countries. Romania was an exception to this because, as he explained, Bucharest did not show a willingness to receive him. The Visegrad Cooperation was also initiated by Hungary, personally by Antall.

Former Brussels Ambassador Gyorgy Granasztoi added: Contacts with NATO started from zero and achieved significant progress in four years. He remarked that Hungarian diplomacy had handed over a document summarizing the foreign political goals in connection with NATO in Brussels in the autumn of 1993. This included, among others, that Hungary has to become a member of the western security system as soon as possible, and this cannot be done to the detriment of others. At the same time, integration would have to be ensured for Budapest within a relatively shorter time because we cannot accept "being swept into one mass" in which differentiation does not exist. Granasztoi informed the meeting about the document's contents.

Gyula Kodolanyi, former foreign political chief adviser of the prime minister, said that the stance of the current government is identical to that of the former government on the issue of NATO membership because no other possibility exists. However, he criticized the Horn government for not achieving any progress in connection with the basic agreements. Both Kodolanyi and Ivan Baba, former Foreign Ministry deputy state secretary, condemned the new government for not wishing to use the experiences of the former foreign political leadership. According to Baba, the majority of the Foreign Ministry's staff who were loyal to the former foreign affairs leadership have by now been pushed out of decision-making positions.

FIDESZ politician Zoltan Rockenbauer intensely criticized the Horn government's foreign policy activities. He said that the new cabinet constantly has to give explanations while it is trying to prove two things: One, the government change is not causing a break in the Europe-policy. Two, it is trying to break with the previous trend in the neighborhood policy. By talking about the nationalism of the Antall cabinet, the new government verifies the accusations coming from some of the neighbors on the one hand and it retrospectively questions the correctness of the previous foreign policy on the other, Rockenbauer said.

Rockenbauer believes that Hungarian foreign policy is not based on the consensus of the parliamentary parties at the moment. Janos Martonyi, former Foreign Ministry administrative state secretary who was also present at the seminar and who emphasized his independence,

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agreed with him. A consensus operated during the Antall government's first two to three years but then, from spring 1993, foreign policy became a domestic-political issue, he alluded.

Martonyi called attention to a number of dangers affecting the current foreign policy. He mentioned the fact that the Euro-Atlantic commitment is dependent on conditions and that a danger of being swept toward the East exists. He would also find it harmful if we forgot about the Visegrad Cooperation which, at least as a symbol, should be maintained.

Mayor Funar's Campaign Against UDMR Councilman

95BA0051B Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 19-20 Nov 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "It Is Peter Eckstein-Kovacs's Turn"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the principle that attack is the best defense, Gheorghe Funar initiated a procedure to suspend Peter Eckstein-Kovacs, leader of the group of local council members from the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—in Romanian UDMR], because he submitted for discussion at the city council's 10 November meeting a draft resolution to the effect that Law No. 5/1973 concerning the management of residential areas and the governing of relationships between owners and tenants not be applied within Kolozsvar [Cluj]. As the mayor pointed out in one of his communiqus: "Since his proposal, Peter Eckstein-Kovacs broke the sworn oath he took at his inauguration when he challenged the Constitution, Law No. 69/1991, and the above-mentioned Law No. 5/1973. I asked Prefect Grigore Zane to take measures to suspend Councilman Peter Eckstein-Kovacs until the government of Romania passed a resolution to expel him from the council."

Regarding the suspension procedure, Peter Eckstein-Kovacs stated that it was merely an attempt to intimidate council members of the opposition because they repeatedly voted against resolutions proposed by Mayor Funar which were contrary to the city's interests, or would circumvent or evade the law. As he said, the draft resolution he introduced to the city council—which, incidentally, was rejected after two hours by the mayoral voting machine which continues to keep totalitarianism alive—did not challenge current legality (even though the above-mentioned law which, incidentally, has never been applied anywhere in the country, was passed during the Ceausescu regime), rather highlighted humanitarian aspects.

The council members of the opposition have not yet decided how they would protect Peter Eckstein-Kovacs (according to certain opinions, they should initiate Funar's suspension), but the idea occurred to perhaps resign as a body, or boycott the council's work which, however, is a double-edged sword because they would not want to abuse the trust of their voters.

The interesting thing is that exactly one year ago, in reply to a poll (ADEVARUL, No. 1144), Funar made a statement that they were cooperating in the city council in order to adopt resolutions to solve the town's problems, and Councilman Eckstein, as an excellent lawyer, was striving to ensure the legality of the adopted resolutions.

Cluj UDMR Leader Threatened With Imprisonment

95BA0051C Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 19-20 Nov 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "It Could Set a Precedent!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A new development in the matter of the up to one-month-long prison sentence inflicted on Lajos Molnos, Kolozs county chairman of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—in Romanian UDMR], which was reported earlier in ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO. Molnos found out about an arrest warrant issued against him while he was looking over the files pertaining to the case on Wednesday at the Kolozsvar [Cluj] court of law. As it turned out, the arrest warrant was issued only a few days after the court's decision was countersigned (on 14 October). As we previously reported, Lajos Molnos did not appear at the above-mentioned hearing. At this time it became clear that the subpoena was signed by someone else on his behalf. The chief justice himself, whom Molnos petitioned through his attorney, was surprised that the Kolozsvar police was able to initiate such an action (i.e., changing a fine of 50,000 lei to a prison sentence), when the county chairman of the interest group appealed the decision and the case was in court. This is what happened up to now, and if the illegalities which were committed so far continue, Lajos Molnos can be arrested any minute!

(P.S.: As we learned from the Thursday issue of the RMDSZ newsletter, the Kolozs county executive committee of our interest group issued a statement in connection with the illegal decision against Lajos Molnos, the arrest warrant against him. The executive committee most decidedly protests such "legal" measures, every instance of arbitrary action which tramples legality, hinders the expansion of democracy in our country, aims at intimidation, and does not tolerate any differences. In the executive committee's judgment, this case is also part of the general, more and more aggressive and rude offensive, initiated by the extreme nationalists with the tacit support of the present government, primarily against the RMDSZ, its officials, and in general, against Hungarians in Romania. Finally, the declaration states: "We will continue to avail ourselves of every legal measure and method of protest, both at Romanian and at international fora, against any anti-democratic measures, regardless of the perpetrator.")

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Bishop Tokes Explains Refusal To Testify

95BA0051A Bucharest ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO in Hungarian 22 Nov 94 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Laszlo Tokes Unwilling To Assist in Falsification of History"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last Friday, Bishop Laszlo Tokes, in a letter which he signed as "a pastor from Temesvar [Timisoara]," replied to Senator V. Gabrielescu, chairman of the Senate committee in charge of investigating the events of December 1989, and listed the reasons which prevented him from traveling to Bucharest to testify between 14-18 November. In his letter the bishop reminded the KDNPP [expansion not given] senator of the statement he made on 22 April in which he turned down an earlier invitation to testify, because the committee's activity "did not meet the criteria of realistic and objective investigation," and its actions "were characterized by efforts to distort the events of December 1989 and to falsify history."

The applicability of the earlier statement has not diminished. "The Iliescu-regime increasingly continues the anti-revolutionary policies of communist regression...." Five years after the glorious events of Temesvar, we can sadly proclaim that no justice has been done, the responsible parties and the murderers have not been called to task, and the policy of restoration aimed at hiding the truth succeeded almost completely in repressing and distorting the real spirit of the revolution and of Temesvar. "I am not willing to assist in the institutionalized counter-revolutionary distortion of history," the bishop's letter emphasizes, and then it states: He suffered too much persecution and humiliation from both the old and the new regime to lend his name to the committee's—mildly speaking—dubious activities.

The letter ends with these words: "... only a legitimate government and a free and independent justice system will be able to uncover and properly evaluate the tragically glorious events of December 1989 in Temesvar, and to judge the participants in a way which corresponds to historical reality."

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Border Guard-Belarusian Patrol Clash Explained

LD2012120794 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 20 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] A Belarusian border guard functionary has been seriously wounded during a firefight between a Polish Border Guard [SG] unit and a Belarusian patrol that broke into Polish territory. As Major Jaroslaw Zukowicz, spokesman of the SG Main Command, reports, the exchange of fire took place in the vicinity of the border crossing at Bobrowniki. Polish and Belarusian functionaries were chasing illegal immigrants there.

[Begin recording] [Zukowicz] Border action was immediately undertaken on the Polish side—utilizing, among others, troops from the border guardhouse at Grodek. Eighteen minutes after midnight, in Swisloczany, about 200 meters from the border, an SG patrol seeking to detain a group of persons who had crossed the border received automatic fire from them. The commander of the patrol riposted by firing back. Twenty minutes after midnight, it was confirmed that the people who had fired were four soldiers of the Belarusian border troops, who had crossed the border into Poland—in any case, as they themselves stated—in hot pursuit of perpetrators who had crossed it. As a result of activities that are still under way, the SG detained three citizens of Somalia at 0140, and 21 citizens of Somalia, 14 of Sri Lanka, and seven of Bangladesh at 0325. It is appropriate to add that the crossing of a Belarusian patrol onto the Polish side was an illegal action.

[Unidentified moderator] Does it often happen that such large groups of people illegally cross our border?

[Zukowicz] We have already detained groups of over 60 people on our eastern border. This is an organized smuggling of people. This phenomenon is gathering in strength.

'Backwardness' of Army Technology Detailed

WS1912140094 Warsaw GAZETA POLSKA in Polish 8 Dec 94 p 12

[Report by Piotr Jakucki: "On the Verge of Infarct"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Polish military technology is dying. So far its reforms have been limited to reducing the number of Polish experts and curtailing domestic military production. After 1989, privatization plans developed by subsequent governments allowed foreign capital to take over strategic plants and made reform of the Polish military industry impossible.**

Scrap From the Soviet Union

What caused the grim condition of our military industry and technological advancement? Most of all, the fact that the Polish Army is equipped with arms produced in the former Soviet Union. During World War II, Soviet technology was not inferior to that of the Germans and the Western allies. Soviet solutions were often better (for instance the T-34 tank or the "Katyusha" rocket launcher). After the war, the USSR produced several types of weapons that remain the best in their class to this day: for instance, the AK-47 machine guns (which did very well in Vietnam, even U.S. soldiers used them), or fighter and attack planes (MiG and SU). **As the USSR's potential ally in the event of an armed conflict with the West, the Polish People's Army [LWP]—infiltrated with Soviet staff officers—had access to these arms in the 1950s and 1960s. The Soviet doctrine of limited trust later enlarged the generation gap between domestic and Soviet arms. The LWP was to secure the victorious march of the Red Army to the West. Apart from engineering equipment, it had practically no offensive weapons allowing it to fight enemy forces. In compliance with operational provisions laid down by the Warsaw Pact, it could not undertake independent action on a larger scale.**

A Deaf and Blind Army

LWP was equipped with equipment that was distributed disproportionally over the territory of Poland (centered in the western regions, leaving the eastern border unprotected). Most importantly of all, it did not possess major offensive or defensive weapons.

As a consequence, Poland became a so-called "subordinated satellite state," partly due to its military dependency on the East. This meant that we did not have our own scientific and technological infrastructure for military needs, for instance institutes or research centers. As a result, Polish specialists did not have an opportunity to get acquainted with the operation and construction of modern offensive weapons (nor the results of research on the impact the application of particular types of weapons would have on the outcome of an armed conflict).

The huge setbacks inherited from the Warsaw Pact make it impossible for the Polish Army to exchange outdated equipment for arms meeting the standards of the 1990s.

After 1989, once cooperation with the CIS was broken off, a void appeared in Poland. Solidarity politicians did not have enough will even to outline which types of arms should be produced exclusively by Polish enterprises and which in cooperation with foreign capital.

Civilian and military authorities are currently incapable of defining arms requirements for the immediate future (there is no scientific institution dealing with this issue; there are no specific projects for reforming the Army). As a consequence, we are still incapable of developing credible tactics and combat strategy. Domestic research and production of new types of arms are paralyzed (the exceptions of the "Twardy" tank and the "Iryda" plane only prove the rule).

Polish Army In a State of Suspended Animation

One will search in vain for modern, mobile antitank weapons, which are so useful in localized armed conflicts, particularly considering the defensive nature of

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our Army; or equipment that could be loaded on and carried by helicopters. What the Army does have is two or three generations behind the times.

Enemy infantry could easily penetrate the territory of Poland. The Army has no antitank or antipersonnel mines that would meet battlefield requirements for the 1990s and effectively resist an enemy attack. Our Army also does not have tanks that could win in all weather conditions with machines such as the M1A2, Leopard 2, T-80, T-84, or self-propelled, point-targeting guns with a range of 40 km.

If an armed conflict broke out, the Army would have no means of warding off a mass enemy attack from land and air. We lack "smart" antitank weapons (which find targets to destroy on their own).

Enemy planes could fly unrestrained over the territory of Poland. For several years now, Western armies have been using passive methods of radio location, allowing them to locate enemies without placing their own detection equipment at risk. Poland currently has no such system. The one it does use would be jammed immediately.

There are also no conventional air-to-air homing rockets, guided air-to-surface missiles, or laser-guided bombs allowing for an enemy attack to be impeded at the moment it begins.

The Polish seacoast is vulnerable to attacks due to a lack of surface-to-sea rocket systems and a navy capable of preventing the penetration of the Polish sea territory by an enemy equipped with similar weapons (torpedoes, sonar, guided and homing missiles, radar).

This is a very basic list. Every modern army throughout the world is equipped with the above. **Why should our Army be worse?**

Foreign military companies are well aware of the financial difficulties Poland is suffering and want to take the advantage of that by dumping their outdated products on us (for example, the Bofors). Others are waiting for the opportunity to make Poland an offer it cannot refuse. Polish officials seem to be unaware of this.

Without Helicopters and Radars

Meanwhile, the quality of Polish military equipment continues to deteriorate.

Combat helicopters are the major carriers of arms to a modern battlefield. We do not have any modern helicopters. The ones that we do use are outdated. They do not meet either Western or Eastern standards.

Domestically produced T-72 tanks were considered modern in the 1970s. In fact, once the license for their production was purchased, it was necessary to improve many assembly sub-units: the fire control system, for instance. In terms of combat value, the improved model ranks below the T-80, T-84, Leclerk, Abrams, Challenger, and Leopard 2, but is better as compared with earlier models, such as the M-60 and Leopard 1. Moreover, tanks are no longer used as the primary means of attack in contemporary warfare—the Gulf War has rendered their hitherto applications questionable.

We used to have very good radar systems. **Technological advancement in the West, coupled with the backwardness and degeneration of the domestic industry of electronic elements and assembly sub-units, has dispelled the last hope of the Army.**

Electronics is one of the key technologies (for the military industry, as well) in developed countries. It is secretively protected from foreign eyes. **It is interesting to note that despite the fact that the West has lifted its embargo on the export of electronic components to East Europe, some of them remain restricted. The West believes they could uncontrollably travel from our country to the East./**

Five Basic Questions

Of course not all combat equipment has to be produced domestically. **So far no one has come forth with a detailed project for reorganizing our Armed Forces. To establish the trends of its modernization, politicians must answer several basic questions.** First of all, we must finally decide what types of arms Poland should produce exclusively on its own to retain a minimum of economic and military independence.

Secondly, we still do not know what types of weapons will allow us to phase out outdated equipment without weakening the Army.

It remains unresolved as to who Poland should cooperate with in research on new types of arms, and what type of research it should carry out independently. It also remains to be established what types of arms we should purchase (defining from who and why).

Politicians and military analysts must agree as soon as possible on what types of arms will provide the basis of Poland's defense in 10 to 20 years' time (This is not a distant perspective, as research on new generations of weapons lasts at least 10 to 15 years, plus a 20-year time period for using the equipment).

Optoelectronics (a field of electronics and electron-beam technology pertaining to the mutual relationship between radiation energy and electricity, dealing primarily with the transformation of electronic signals into optical signals and vice versa) is decisive for the technological standards of arms. Without implementing optoelectronics on a wide scale we cannot even dream of catching up with the West. The wide implementation should take the form of either putting a domestic infrastructure in place (a very expensive and ineffective method), or by developing cooperation with the West.

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Over the last 20 years, optoelectronics have developed particularly rapidly in the United States and in the West (the Russians have not considered it important).

In tanks—the heaviest category of military equipment—optoelectronic devices make up for 20 to 40 percent of its structure. In the newest generation of missiles—as much as 90 percent.

To implement optoelectronics, we need experts (under the best of conditions, training one professional takes between three and five years). **The disproportion between Poland and the West in this regard is best illustrated by the following example: A medium-sized U.S. company producing primarily optoelectronic goods for the military industry employs over 100 times more workers than the total technical staff of the Polish Army. Before the Gulf War broke out, 100,000 electrical engineers (optoelectronic engineers, opticians, and computer scientists specializing in related fields) were to be laid off due to a surplus of production in the U.S. military industry and a projected cut in purchases.**

Why Is the Situation Bad?

How can the results of scientific research be put to the Army's advantage? We must answer that question ourselves, and not seek solutions in London, Washington, or Moscow. Poland is viewed by the West and Russia as merely an instrument for furthering their own interests. The slow agony of Polish military technology and its retardation as compared with the United States and other NATO countries are due not only to our long-standing membership in the Warsaw Pact. The annually decreasing funds allocated to science prove that politicians do not recognize the true importance of the issue. **Lower funds in the budget imply a shortage of scientists, a lack of solutions to heal our defense system.**

Few scientists and laboratories are currently involved in developing military technology. Development is also hampered by a practical lack of access to the most modern foreign achievements, due to the fact that we are not a member of any Western military or political structure. Moreover, Poland, not being a part of the arms market, does not have access to material and technical bases used exclusively for the aims of military technologies. Thus every Polish product will be far behind foreign equivalents.

The objective for those who govern Poland should be leading to a situation in which soldiers will use weapons that are competitive with those used in the West. The Army cannot be allowed to depend solely on contributions from the citizens. Only a strong Army can guarantee our independence./

(Based on papers by experts on military equipment.)

Effects of Reduced Financing on Military Viewed

WS2012092994 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 19 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by "TRZ": "Less Money for the Army: What Type of Army?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Since 1986, the Polish Army has been becoming increasingly impoverished, the budget funds that are allocated to it are decreasing, and the situation is becoming more and more critical," General Zdzislaw Graczyk has told NOWA EUROPA.

As far as funds allocated to defense are concerned, Poland was ranked 17th in Europe. If, however, we calculate defense expenditures per soldier and per citizen, we fall to 24th place. In 1986, 3.9 percent of the state budget was allocated to the Ministry of National Defense [MON]. In 1994 that figure was only 2.4 percent. Among European countries, smaller funds from the budget were allocated only by Ireland, Finland, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Italy, Denmark, and Belgium.

The percentage indicator is very misleading, as the budgets of the listed countries are far larger than the budget of Poland. If we consider not the percentage indicator for the size of the budget, but the dollar indicator of funds for defense ministries in those countries, we will be surprised to learn that Germany, which allocated a mere 1.8 percent of its budget to the Army in 1993, has made a real investment of nearly $31.8 billion. Russia, our other neighbor, has spent as much as $76.6 billion on the same purpose, whereas we spent only $2.3 billion.

During a news conference held by the Solidarity of Polish Army Employees, Gen. Zdzislaw Graczyk stated in a dramatic speech that *"If we are to have a well-trained army, we must close down our hospitals, overhaul units, and save money wherever we can. We are facing the dilemma of whether the Polish Army is to have hospitals, retain its social benefits, and remain completely untrained, or whether it is to be trained at the expense of social benefits. We do not hesitate to choose the second solution."*

The budget that still remains to be passed before year's end foresees 41,115.163 billion zlotys for MON. This is an unprecedented event in the history of setting the budget since 1986. For the first time, the budget for the Army grew relatively by approximately 1.7 percent. As the generals say, however, this growth will not really be seen [because] the inflation rate in our country is usually higher than projected, and surplus funds will probably be devoured by it.

All over the world an army is considered modern if at least 40 percent of the equipment at its disposal meets the highest standards of quality. In the Polish Army that indicator hovers between 5 and 30 percent.

ZChN Proposals on Right-wing Unification

LD1912185394 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1653 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 19 December—The main board of the Christian-National Union [ZChN] has adopted the plan for the unification of the right that was

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presented a few days ago by the acting chairman of this party, Ryszard Czarnecki. He proposes that the groupings that are part of the composition of the Covenant for Poland (the Christian-National Union, Center Alliance [PC], Movement for the Republic [RDR], Peasants' Alliance, and the Conservative Coalition) and of the 11 November Accord (the Union for Real Politics [UPR], Conservative Party, Peasant-Christian Party, Party of National Democracy, and the Party of Christian- Democrats) create a coalition with a confederal structure. Czarnecki does not preclude the possibility of broadening the coalition to include other right-wing groupings.

Czarnecki said at a Monday news conference that the signs coming from the talks on the subject of integration "are warm." However, he added that unification will not follow straightaway—at the program conference that has been announced for 7 January—but said that a minimum program for the right ought to be prepared.

RDR Acting Chairman Lech Jeczmyk (the party has officially declared that it will join the ZChN), said that "the point of no return has been passed" in the integration process.

Wojciech Dobrzynski, member of the PC Supreme Council, underlined the fact that the idea of the integration of the right on a ZChN-UPR axis is the most appropriate and has the best chances of success. "The PC ought not to be missing from this axis," he said. He added that despite the existence of a PC resolution that unambiguously obliges the party authorities to integrate, that resolution is not being implemented. Dobrzynski said that he does not seek a conflict with PC Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski, but he does feel "that rapid integration is a requirement of the national interest." "If the right wishes to exist on the political stage, then it must integrate," he added.

Official Presents New Administrative Reform Idea

WS2012113294 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by Grzegorz Lepak from Krakow: "Minister Michal Strak's Idea: Regional Poland"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **Michal Strak, head of the Office of the Council of Ministers, has presented a new project for reforming the national administration. It provides for dividing the country into three or four macroregions, establishing huge centers "following the example of capital cities in the former USSR, presently Russia."**

Strak presented his idea on Friday to a group of students and several officials at Jagellonian University in Krakow. **"The capital cities of the macroregions would be former historical Polish capitals—Poznan, Krakow, and Warsaw. The role Gdansk could play remains to be considered,"** said Strak. He added that there were already attempts at establishing supravoivodship centers: **"Heads of voivodships are already reaching an agreement in the Wielkopolska region, where they take turns in hosting dinners."**

Minister Strak discussed the concept of macroregions on Saturday at a meeting with heads of voivodships from southern Poland.

When asked by journalists, after the meeting, about the future powers of the macroregions, he replied: **"We only discussed the general idea. The heads of voivodships are to think it over, present their conclusions in writing by 10 January, and then we will hold another discussion. This is not something that is set and that we would wish to impose on others."**

He went on to explain: **"This is an attempt to find a structure that would be more efficient in implementing regional policy and compelling the Central Planning Administration, the central organ responsible for regional policy, to cooperate more closely with voivodship heads."**

The minister explained, for instance, that "the southern macroregion already exists, only it is not recognized as a unit in contacts with the central administration." He said, for example, that voivodships within the macroregion could undertake a joint effort to establish an international airport in Krakow.

Heads of voivodships from southern Poland approved of Strak's concept on the condition, however, that Krakow does not dominate the region.

Spokesman on 21 Dec Walesa-Coalition Meeting

LD1912211994 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 19 Dec 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[FBIS Translated Text] Presidential Spokesman Leszek Spalinski has said that the meeting between Lech Walesa and the coalition on Wednesday will not only be an internal conversation of politicians but also—because of the television relay, which has already been announced—an opportunity for a conversation with the public.

During the morning meeting of the president and the prime minister, the two politicians decided that the meeting will be held in the Sejm on Wednesday morning. The coalition politicians who are members of the parliamentary floor groups' presidiums and the Council of Ministers, as well as the coalition speakers and deputy speakers of the Sejm and the Senate—about 30 people altogether—will take part in the meeting. The president will be accompanied by 10 officials from his chancellery.

[Begin Leszek Spalinski recording] If someone goes to a meeting with somebody else, it is already an expression of goodwill. Otherwise, he would not go to such a meeting. He could say: I am not interested; I do not talk to these gentlemen at all. [end recording]

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The president and the prime minister have only made a preliminary agreement on the subjects to be discussed at the meeting. The conversation is to focus on the Constitution, the budget, and the appointment of a defense minister. The details will only be decided during the course of the meeting, which will be broadcast in full by Polish television.

[Begin Spalinski recording] Why should we conceal the fact that this conversation will not be just a conversation between the coalition members and the president but also a conversation of the coalition and the president with the public through the media? This is an important element of this conversation, too.

According to a statement by the government press office released today, the prime minister also acquainted the president with the course of work on the budget, as well as with the impact on the poorest circles of society of Lech Walesa's possible vetoes of further bills connected with the budget, or a veto of the budget itself.

Walesa, Coalition Continue Conflict Over Tax Law

WS1912151394 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 19 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by Piotr Smilowicz: "Hitting Law With Taxes"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **The coalition and the president are trying to outwit one another by finding more and more legal loopholes in hopes of winning the battle over the tax law. Minister [title as published] Falandysz disclosed Walesa's new weapon.**

"Even if the Constitutional Tribunal decides at its 29 December session that the tax law does not contradict the Constitution, the president will not be obliged to sign it right away," said Lech Falandysz, deputy chief of the President's Chancellory, on yesterday's "Breakfast With Radio Zet" program. According to Falandysz, Walesa will be able to wait until the Tribunal's decision is justified in writing.

Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Deputy Marek Borowski claims that Walesa cannot wait and that this will prove his real intentions.

It is worth recalling that for a couple of weeks now the coalition has been waging a guerrilla war with the president over the tax law. Walesa vetoed the law and then, after the Sejm overrode the veto, he filed an appeal over this decision with the Constitutional Tribunal. He hopes the verdict will be announced no earlier than 1995. If this does in fact happen, the legal tax brackets next year will be 20, 30, and 40 percent (the coalition wants 21, 33, and 45 percent). However, this is what would happen only probably, but not necessarily: if the president does not sign the law this year, the coalition will include the higher tax rates in the budget. There is no agreement on whether or not this would be legal.

It is also difficult to say whether the president could legally postpone signing the tax law. In line with Article 18 of the Small Constitution, he must sign a law no later than seven days after his veto has been overridden. When the law is sent to the Constitutional Tribunal, all other deadlines are no longer binding.

"The president already used the seven days provided by the Constitution before he sent the law to the Tribunal," Borowski says. "I agree, however, that this provision of the Constitution is unclear and it is not known whether Walesa must sign the law right after the decision is announced, or if he can wait for written justification. However, in light of the fact that the decision will be clear and will exclude any other interpretations, he should sign the law so that it will be possible to publish it in the Legal Gazette by the end of the year," Borowski adds.

After announcing its decision, the Tribunal has 30 days in which to issue its written justification.

However, the coalition is not going to yield to the president without a fight.

"I would not like to reveal any details. One of the elements will certainly be the government's amendment to the budget bill," Borowski says. "Besides, we might reach a compromise with the president during Wednesday's meeting with the presidiums of the clubs of the Polish Peasant Party and SLD—even though I am rather skeptical about that," he adds.

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Iliescu Discusses CSCE Role Following Summit

AU1912154094 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian 8 Dec 94 p 1

["Exclusive" interview with President Ion Iliescu, by Gabriela Boceanu; place and date not given: "In the Practice of Democratic Relations, Compromise Defines the Minimum Platform That Is Acceptable for All"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Boceanu] Mr. President, what do you see as the specific and positive results of the CSCE summit recently held in Budapest, at a time when one hears circulating in certain political circles the idea of the inefficiency—if not even uselessness—of a "forum of ideas," such as the CSCE, that lacks levers for effective actions?

[Iliescu] I believe that such ideas proceed from unrealistic premises. Such a body, which has the character of a comprehensive forum, cannot have operational functions. I believe its best definition was given by Mr. Butrus- Ghali, the UN secretary general, who described its function and role as that of the largest and most representative regional organization of the European continent, one that plays a particularly important role in international life, as well as participating in the financial support of the United Nations. In fact, it is the only organization that includes almost all European states, plus Canada, the United States, and the five new states in the former Soviet Union and central Asia. All these confer to the forum a distinctive role and special function when compared with all the other European and Euro-Atlantic bodies.

[Boceanu] Do you believe that those long-desired and -discussed levers to improve the CSCE process have been created?

[Iliescu] It depends on what was expected, because opinions differed. Positions were not only different but sometimes even contradictory. Nevertheless, I believe that, in the last analysis, what was realistic has been obtained in the end: that is, something that could be accepted by everybody. This is the practice of democratic relations on an internal and international level: namely, to ultimately reach a compromise that defines that minimum platform, which is the only one acceptable to everybody and also the most effective.

[Boceanu] What do you think about the addresses made by Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton—I would call them an exchange of speeches, in the sense of an exchange of retorts—and the impact they had on the other heads of state and government who were present at the summit?

[Iliescu] They reflected positions expressed also prior to the conference, and I believe that one can understand Russia's reluctance and concern with its being marginalized in the process of ensuring peace on the continent and developing European cooperation. I believe that the assurances voiced by President Clinton as well as by the other participants in the reunion will be adequately reflected in the climate of international relations, because nobody wishes—and it would even be dangerous—to marginalize the Russian Federation. Russia will stay a big country, with a big material, natural, human, and military potential. Thus, it must be an active partner in the processes that are taking place on the continent and in international political life. I believe an adequate framework will be found to ensure its active involvement in approaching and solving the problems of the continent as well as international problems.

[Boceanu] What could you say about the letters sent by Laszlo Tokes [honorary president of Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] to the president of Hungary on the last day of the summit?

[Iliescu] I have not seen the text of these letters but I was told about them. I do not want to comment extensively on them. The fact that they were written in the first place, however, shows once again Mr. Tokes' involution in approaching both domestic problems as well as relations between Romania and Hungary. In addition, I believe that it is also a lack of decency on his part to give such advice to the head of state and to the head of the Hungarian Government, and to oppose the normal development of relations of good neighborliness and understanding between our countries.

Officer Says 1989 Revolution Was Staged 'Coup'

AU1912160094 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 15 Dec 94 p 4

[Report by Aurora Manta, Bogdan Iacob: "Filip Teodorescu Claims That the 1989 Revolution Was a Coup Ordered by Ion Iliescu"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday the senate panel investigating the events of December 1989 continued its hearings, questioning presidential counselor General Vasile Ionel and Colonel Filip Teodorescu, who used to be the deputy chief of the counterespionage service before 1989.

Col. Teodorescu claimed that the December 1989 revolution was actually a coup, coordinated mainly by Ion Iliescu and Nicolae Militaru [defense minister following the events of 1989]. The recent promotion to the rank of general of a great many senior army and SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] officers actually represents the paying of debts Ion Iliescu owes the persons who helped him become president of the country. To illustrate this, Col. Teodorescu named the officers who coordinated the tanks deployed to Timisoara during the December events.

Col. Teodorescu also asserted that during those hot days when the revolution was broadcast live over national television there was a nucleus of people at television headquarters with the assignment of systematically misleading and manipulating public opinion. The coordinators of that nucleus were Silviu Brucan and Teodor Brates.

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Although the members of the panel hoped to obtain information from Gen. Vasile Ionel as to the whereabouts of the vanished file of the Ceausescu trial, the general declared that he knows nothing about it. Vasile Ionel said that the file could be in the possession of Victor Stanculescu—adding, however, that he merely suspects this.

Nuclear Fuel Arrival Scheduled for 24-25 Dec

AU1912195794 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 15 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Carmen Chihaia: "Santa Brings Nuclear Fuel to Cernavoda"]

[FBIS Translated Text] According to Viorel Marculescu, general director of the Cernavoda nuclear power plant, the first batches of imported heavy water began to arrive yesterday. The whole lot amounts to 335 metric tons of heavy water imported from Canada, transported via air to Otopeni airport, where special trucks take over and haul it to Cernavoda—in addition to the 140 metric tons already delivered by the Drobeta Turnu Severin heavy water plant. On 24-25 December, a ship is expected to drop anchor in Constanta port, bringing the nuclear fuel bundles [fascicol de combustibil nuclear]. It is also noteworthy that they have concluded the 10-day operational testing—using ordinary water and no nuclear fuel—of the circuits and parts, which were submitted to pressure simulating normal working conditions. "It was a kind of exam for all of us—in which we succeeded very well—the purpose of which was to chemically clean all circuits, test their running, and create a protective lodestone layer inside the primary heat transporting circuit," said Marculescu. "In the next stage, we plan to test two of the existing four diesel-powered generators, the testing of the remaining two being scheduled for January 1995. This will be followed by the testing of the systems via which electric power is fed into the national electric power grid, while the moderating circuit [circuit moderator] will be loaded with heavy water and nuclear fuel fed into the reactor." All these are projects for which the Cernavoda nuclear power plant urgently needs the funds promised by the government, which are still uncertain.

King's Message Marks Start of 1989 Revolution

AU2012110194 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Dec 94 p 3

["His Majesty King Mihai's Message to the Country" on the fifth anniversary of the outbreak of the December 1989 revolution in Timisoara; issued in Versoix, France on 16 December]

[FBIS Translated Text] Romanians and citizens of Timisoara:

Today we mark the fifth anniversary of the start of the revolution against communism. The process that eventually led to the collapse of the most horrible dictatorship ever experienced by our country began in Timisoara, this old, important city that united with the Motherland during the rule of my grandfather, King Ferdinand. Indeed, as was often said, communism was born on the Neva River [in St. Petersburg] and died on the Bega River [in Timisoara]! You, the inhabitants of Timisoara, have lit the spark of freedom, the flame of which still burns just as brightly today. Timisoara has remained an oasis of peace beside a neighbor torn apart by a bloody civil war. God willing, and if we also wish it strongly, we will make the whole country flourish and we will turn it into a site of democracy in this corner of Europe. "Today in Timisoara, tomorrow in the whole country!" This was the slogan that united the Romanians and awakened a wave of sympathy and enthusiasm throughout the continent. Our first duty today is to remember those who died fighting and to pay pious homage to the courage of those who removed the dictatorship with their bare hands.

Romanians and citizens of Timisoara, there is no need for me to remind you that, although much has been accomplished in the meantime, there is still a lot left to be done. I have often heard it said that you should not expect too much and that, whether you like it or not, you should be satisfied with what has been accomplished in the past five years and should have patience and understanding toward "our young and fragile democracy."

Today, I would like to suggest to you the image of a new Romania: a country in which each man lives in peace, not in constant fear of others; an assured and prosperous country, with confidence in its future. I see four priorities: First of all, national reconciliation. I am very well aware of the fear and moral pressures each of you has had to suffer over the past 45 years. I know that for many of you, joining the Communist Party was more a matter of survival than of choice. Nobody should be persecuted or harassed for the fact that he was a party member. No nation can progress without leaving behind the ghosts of its darker periods. However, one should emphasize that not just you but the the authorities, too, must participate in this reconciliation. Nobody has the right to use the archives of the former Securitate to discredit certain persons. Nobody has the right to claim that there is no difference between the simple members of the Communist Party and those directly involved in the Communist regime's leadership, or between those who gave the orders and those who were forced to follow them in order to survive.

The second principle that should guide us is national unity. Our state is unitary and its historical borders are not negotiable. Our brothers and sisters of a different ethnic origin must be sure of our respect and protection, as equal citizens of a democratic Romania and in their capacity as heirs of cultures that have coexisted on our country's territory for centuries on end. I call upon all Romanians to ignore those who want to stir hatred and suspicion among the various ethnic groups. Before Europe, I would like to say the following: Romania is a large, rich, and proud country. As an integral part of this

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continent, Romania will do its duty to ensure the continent's stability. The tragic events in the former Yugoslavia will never occur in our country if all Romania's citizens are treated with dignity and affection and if all national minorities enjoy our respect and love. The Army, Police, and courts of law will have to defend these principles with devotion.

Romanians, citizens of Timisoara, our third and most important duty is to implement the economic reform. This does not mean the artificial survival of state enterprises, through a simple change of name; nor the continuation of the practice of trips by Bucharest bureaucrats, who come to you on "working visits" in order to give you "valuable recommendations." True economic reform unleashes the people's creative energies and allows each one of you to participate in the effort to promote the society's prosperity. I am grateful to the international financial institutions that decided to support our economic efforts. Despite all that, no matter how high the credits are, they cannot replace true economic reform.

The fourth and perhaps most difficult duty is moral regeneration. This does not mean that we must change everything. The existence of different viewpoints is an inherent part of a healthy democratic life. In spite of that, certain principles that have guided us along the centuries must be reinstated, primarily honesty and truth. No government has the right to lie to us and continue with the lies of the past. We need to have trust in ourselves and in the moral qualities of mankind.

Do not turn yourself away from the sorrow experienced by your neighbor; do no say that it is not your problem that part of the Romanians are suffering. Our forefathers' church, the symbol of our national existence along the centuries—a church that has also been martyrized in past decades—will have to show you the way.

Romanians, citizens of Timisoara, it is within our power to create the Romania I wanted to depict to you today. Although I have repeatedly been prevented from being together with you, I have had the opportunity to meet with many of those who represent the country's future. I have met with resolute men and women, who are struggling to turn the December 1989 revolution into reality. Now, we are all revolutionaries and each one of us must promise that what was started five years ago in Timisoara will be completed even today.

So help us God.

[Signed] Mihai, 16 December 1994

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Carter Announces Cease-Fire To Begin 23 Dec

AU2012152594 Paris AFP in English 1501 GMT 20 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dec 20 (AFP)—Jimmy Carter announced Tuesday [20 December] he had secured Serb agreement for a complete cease-fire throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina beginning on December 23. The former U.S. president secured the agreement from Serb leader Radovan Karadzic after three hours of talks here in a surprise second visit after a meeting earlier in Sarajevo with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic.

Carter Returns to Pale

AU2012105894 Paris AFP in English 1041 GMT 20 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 20 (AFP)—Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter left Sarajevo for the nearby Serb stronghold of Pale Tuesday [20 December] for a surprise second round of talks with Bosnian Serb leaders, UN Protection Force spokesman Gary Coward said. Carter left after nearly two hours of talks with Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic on a Serb proposal made to Carter late Monday for an immediate cease-fire in the Bosnia conflict and possible negotiations on the basis of an international peace plan.

Izetbegovic Accepts Cease-Fire

AU2012115094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 94

[Statement by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, after talks with former U.S. president Jimmy Carter in Sarajevo on 20 December—recorded; Izetbegovic speaks in Serbo-Croatian with passage by passage English translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Izetbegovic] We have agreed—our group and Mr. Carter—that we accept an immediate cease-fire for a four-month period; furthermore, we have said that we would be ready to resume negotiations based on the acceptance of the Contact Group plan as a basis, a starting point. Moreover, we agreed that in the meantime the functioning of Sarajevo airport has to be normalized, as must the free passage of convoys carrying food and medicine, and the [word indistinct] release of all prisoners and prisoners of war, and the implementation of human rights throughout the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] territory.

As far as the place for negotiations, possible negotiations that might happen, is concerned, we have (?proposed) Sarajevo airport. This is our position. However, Mr. Carter has proposed that the Contact Group (?decides on the place). That would be all.

Karadzic Accepts Cease-Fire

LD2012093194 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2233 GMT 19 Dec 94

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 19 Dec (SRNA)—Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic assessed today's talks with former U.S. President Jimmy Carter as "the beginning of the end of the war," stressing that the signed seven-point agreement was a good basis for the reactivation of the peace process in the former republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to Karadzic, the political-military leadership of the Srpska republic had accepted a compromise in which there would be a four-month cease-fire in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that a concrete agreement with the Muslim side on this would be concluded between 27 December and 15 January.

"Peace negotiations that will be based on the Brussels version of the contact group's peace plan should start during the four-month cessation of hostilities." Karadzic specified.

The Srpska republic president added that the Serb side was ready to allow safe passage to humanitarian convoys, open Sarajevo airport, and exchange all prisoners under the auspices of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Karadzic stressed that the Srpska republic was also ready to normalize relations with UN Protection Forces and continue to respect human rights.

"Carter welcomed our readiness to accept a compromise and stressed that this would make pointless the sanctions the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY] introduced against the Srpska republic. He also said that he would insist at the White House and the UN Security Council that the embargo against the FRY be completely lifted," President Karadzic said.

Cease-Fire Proposal Published

LD1912232094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2239 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 19 (TANJUG)—Karadzic said at a joint press conference: "President Carter came here to bring us back to the (conference) table and he did. We have accepted something that we never thought we would accept."

Carter said peace talks would be based on the Contact Group plan and all its points.

He said the talks would soon open in Geneva or wherever the Contact Group decided.

Bosnian Serb leaders presented Carter with a ceasefire proposal. The proposal was signed in the presence of reporters by Carter, Karadzic and Bosnian Serb Army Commander Gen. Ratko Mladic.

The REUTER news agency published the proposals, which read as follows:

—Immediate ceasefire lasting four months, which may be extended by mutual agreement.

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—Offer of negotiations on complete cessation of hostilities, including withdrawal of armies and deployment of U.N. troops between them.

—Negotiations on comprehensive peace agreement based on existing plan drafted by five-nation 'Contact Group', at a mutually agreed venue, under the auspices of the Contact Group.

—During the ceasefire, there should be continued free movement of U.N. convoys and the opening of Sarajevo airport.

—Both sides to appoint observers to the U.N. mission if they wish to ensure no arms are being introduced into the area.

—[Word indistinct] sides to be responsible for the full protection of human rights according to international standards, with free access to areas controlled by both parties to international inspectors.

—All people irrespective of age, sex or ethnic origin, to have complete freedom to choose where they want to live.

—Early exchange of all detainees, and free access for the International Red Cross to prisons to determine who is being held and under what conditions.

—Release of all prisoners of war as soon as possible.

Carter: Americans Hear 'Only One Side of Story'

AU1912215094 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Dec 94

[Announcer-read report over video footage showing former U.S. President Jimmy Carter in Pale]

[FBIS Translated Text] After his visits to Zagreb and Sarajevo, former U.S. President Jimmy Carter arrived in Pale where he held talks with the leadership of the Srpska republic about the possibilities for the resolution of the Bosnian conflict.

Carter is on a private, mediatory mission.

The former U.S. president believes that the Contact Group plan is the basis for the future peace talks on whose results the Bosnian Government and the Serbs from Bosnia should decide jointly.

Before the commencement of talks with the leadership in Pale, Carter stated that the American people have mostly listened to only one side of the story about the war between the Serbs and the Muslims. Perhaps today is one of the rare opportunities, Carter said, for the world to hear the truth and have it explained that the Serbs are willing to agree to a peace agreement.

Izetbegovic Responds

AU1912200794 Paris AFP in English 1937 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 19 (AFP)—Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic gave a brusque rejoinder to former U.S. President Jimmy Carter Monday for saying that the Americans had heard only the Bosnian side of the Bosnian war, insisting that nothing could alter the fact that the Serbs were "the aggressors."

Carter said in a meeting Monday with Serb leader Radovan Karadzic in the Bosnian Serbs' self-styled capital Pale that "it may be that today is one of the rare chances to let the world know the truth and explain the commitment of the Serbs to peace."

"I cannot dispute your statement that the American people have heard primarily one side of the story," Carter said.

A statement from Izetbegovic's office, cited on Bosnian television Monday evening, said that "no statement" can alter the facts that the Serbs were aggressors and that they had committed numerous war crimes.

"These facts, confirmed in the reports of Tadeusz Mazowiecki (UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights), remain a component part of truth about Bosnia regardless of what someone may say or wish," the statement said.

Izetbegovic's statement reminded Carter that every peace plan offered so far obliged the Serbs, who currently hold 70 percent of the country, to withdraw from the territories taken by force.

He also pointed out that the Serbs were pushing forward into new territories.

Carter arrived in Bosnia-Herzegovina Sunday for a mediation mission at Karadzic's request, although UN staff believe his prospects for success are slim.

Izetbegovic Accuses West of Blackmail

AU2012155194 Berlin DIE WELT in German 20 Dec 94 p 5

[Article by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic: "Blackmail by the West"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It is too mild to say that the events in Bosnia are caused by the weakness of the West. Unfortunately, it is something far more serious than only weakness. For a few weeks, there has been a new turn in the aggression against Bosnia. The rebellious Serbs in Croatia, from the so-called UN Protected Areas that are monitored by the United Nations, attacked our 5th Corps from behind. This triggered the so-called Bihac crisis. From a protected area in a state, a protected area in another state was attacked. Nothing has been done about it. What is even more: It is claimed that nothing can be done about it. The whole of the international community of states, embodied in the United Nations and powerful NATO, is not able to save a threatened city. Is that the truth? Can that be the truth?

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Here are a few facts: During the last six months before the Serbian attack, the Bihac region was systematically starved. Hardly any humanitarian convoys got through (out of 143 relief convoys, only 12 were let through, 131 were sent back). Immediately before the Serbian attack, the French UN battalion left the area of Bihac. It was replaced by a unit from Bangladesh that was numerically weak and inadequately armed.

Moreover, a complete media blockade was established. The UN troops minimized the importance and the scope of the Serbian attacks in their reports. Can this be a coincidence?

With cynical indifference, a high-ranking Western functionary told the world and the nation whose slaughtering and destruction is imminent that the Serbs have won the war. As if it were his final whistle in a soccer game! However, exactly because it is a matter of life and death, there is no end and the fighting continues. I could give the gentleman in question numerous examples of totally wrong forecasts of his esteemed colleagues. Exactly the contrary of what they had foreseen and predicted happened.

Right from the beginning, Paris and London have acted as the Serbs' protectors. They have blocked the world Security Council and NATO and thus prevented all steps by which the Serbian war of aggression might have been stopped. And what is one supposed to say about Russia's behavior? Russia vetoes the Security Council resolution and votes for the supply of the Croatian Serbs with oil, while they are, at the same time, preventing the transit of food and medicine for the starving people of Bihac. Then there is another unavoidable question: Karadzic's Serbs installed more than 150 missile systems in the parts of Bosnia dominated by them. Where did they get these missiles from?

What will be the result of the Bosnian war, which is dragging on because of this mixture of inability, hesitation, and also ill will of the West? The result is a discredited United Nations, a damaged NATO, and a demoralized Europe that is suffering from the feeling of helplessness in view of the first challenge after the end of the Cold War. What is developing now is another, worse world where the relations between Europe and America, the West and Russia, the West and the Islamic world will never again be the same as before. I agree with those who foresee the following: "The West will be seized by great shame and humiliation because of the disgraceful withdrawal from Bosnia at the end of the century."

Apparently, many in the West underestimated what is going on in Bosnia. At the beginning there was a regional crisis, which developed into a European crisis afterward—and today it is undoubtedly a global crisis. Therefore, the defense or the fall of Bihac is of global importance. The West reacted to the brutal aggression, to a genocide of unprecedented proportions, and to concentration camps with the so-called "humanitarian answer." It is like using sedatives against a serious disease while the disease continues to spread as expected or even as planned. But now this "humanitarian answer" is turning into blackmail, lately even into double blackmail aimed at our people.

We deserve help because we have not sat there with our arms folded. We have put up unexpected resistance, which has even been inexplicable for many in the West. Since the beginning of the war, out of several dozen groups of 20 to 150 men each who were only armed with rifles, we have created an army of 150,000 soldiers who have disabled several tens of thousands of attackers and destroyed more than 1,000 of their tanks and armored vehicles.

However, the stronger our resistance has become the less the West has been prepared to help us. Why? Is there an answer to it?

In Bosnia, democracy and darkest nationalism and racism are clashing with each other. Our enemies only recognize one nation—their own; only one religion—their own, and only a single party—their own. Everything that does not belong to them is doomed to extinction. Even the graves are dug up. One only has to read the latest reports from UN Special Envoy [Tadeusz] Mazowiecki on what is happening in the areas that are controlled by the aggressor.

I would like to ask some of the gentlemen who are indefatigably working for international recognition for this structure that calls itself "Serbian republic:" Will this structure that has been founded today on violence and genocide be invited to the family of civilized countries tomorrow?

In all wars of liberation there is a factor that is not tangible and eludes all analyses. Therefore, some military and political analysts of the West are constantly mistaken in their forecasts. Our people are fighting for their freedom and, even more, their existence. Such a fight is mostly hard—but it is also hard to lose. In the past 50 years, not a single war of liberation has been lost in the world. I do not know why our war of liberation should be lost. Nobody and nothing can force our 150,000 soldiers to lay down their arms. I want to tell this to everyone who expects such a development—both for our sake and for his own sake.

I hope that Bosnia's friends will not take offense at it. However, as far as the others are concerned, I do not care after all that has happened.

Silajdzic Accepts 'Special Links' for Serbs

AU2012131494 Paris AFP in English 1302 GMT 20 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Dec 20 (AFP)—Bosnian Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic Tuesday [20 December] accepted, for the first time, that secessionist Bosnian Serbs might be able to establish "special links" with Serbia proper. Speaking here after a meeting with French

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Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, Silajdzic said: "We are ready to consider a significant autonomy" for the Bosnian Serbs, including their having "special links" with Serbia.

Attacks on Bihac Region Intensify

AU2012125094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 20 Dec 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The intensity of [Srpska republic leader Radovan] Karadzic's and [republic of Serbian Krajina leader Milan] Martic's chetniks' attacks on the Bihac region have escalated overnight and continue to do so today. The Bihac center is once more exposed to chetnik shelling which has been escalating since the early morning hours. According to as yet incomplete information, today's shelling has injured at least 40 people, of which seven are in critical condition and the doctors in the regional hospital are fighting for their lives.

The material damage to Bihac itself, and the nearby villages of Klokot, Izacic, Zegar, Vedro Polje, and Cazin and its surrounding areas [words indistinct] is immense. Several facilities have been razed, others are on fire. Some of the vital facilities have also been damaged. Moreover, attacks against all the defense lines continue. On the Velika Kladusa part of the front, Martic's chetniks are intensifying artillery and tank attacks against the defenders' positions and are attempting to break through the newly achieved lines and to [words indistinct] of destroying the very center of Velika Kladusa.

Attacks have also intensified on the Bosanska Krupa part of the front and the Grmusko-Srbljanski platea front. The defenders of the Bihac region are putting up superhuman resistance and holding back the chetniks who are evidently engaging in new manipulative games in Pale in order to divert attention from the Bihac region.

UN: Bihac Shelling Claims 'Several Lives'

AU1912213894 Paris AFP in English 2118 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Zagreb, Dec 19 (AFP)—Separatist Serb forces shelled the northwest Bosnian town of Bihac Monday [19 December] in an artillery bombardment that claimed several lives, a UN military spokesman said here.

UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Michael Williams said four tank shells and one 120mm mortar shell fell on the town, at the centre of a 80-square-kilometre (32-square-mile) UN-declared safe area into which the Serb attackers have advanced. Williams said there was as yet no indication Monday evening as to how many lives the bombardment had claimed. He said several rockets had also exploded west of the town at Klokot, where the installations providing Bihac's drinking water are situated.

UNPROFOR signalled Monday morning that fighting between the Serb forces besieging Bihac town and its Bosnian government army defenders had intensified.

Williams added that the plight of some 1,100 Bangladeshi UN peackeepers trapped inside the Bihac pocket by the Bosnian and Croatian Serb advance had also worsened.

The UN troops had almost run out of medical supplies after Croatian Serb forces for the fourth time turned back a convoy of medicaments destined for their use.

Their equipment comprised just 200 guns and a few troop transporters, and their food supplies were running low.

Williams said the peacekeepers trapped at Coralici in the centre of the pocket were now deprived of all emergency medical aid, meaning that five of their number wounded last week by a Serb rocket only received superficial treatment. One of the five died a day after the December 12 attack.

The Bangladeshis have been resupplied just three times since the Serbs began blockading the Bihac pocket on October 28. [passage omitted]

The Bosnian and Croatian Serbs have declared that their objective in the region is to annihilate the Bosnian 5th Army Corps defending the Bihac pocket and install Abdic and his forces in their place.

The pocket, sandwiched between Serb-held regions of Bosnia and Croatia, shelters some 200,000 people who have been living under frontline conditions for the last two years. [passage omitted]

Sarajevo Radio: Serbs Occupying Velika Kladusa

AU1912151494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Text] The shelling of the center of Bihac, the constant [word indistinct] artillery, tanks, and infantry attacks on all the outskirts, on Zegar, Debeljaca, Skokovi, [word indistinct], and Bugar from the so-called Serb autonomous province of Krajina, new civilian casualties in the streets, all this is briefly what has been happening in the Bihac region today [words indistinct].

Although Bihac has been under attack since this morning, the situation is much worse in Velika Kladusa. The members of the so-called army of the Serb Krajina have temporarily occupied the center of Kladusa, and supporters of war criminal Fikret Abdic are in its ranks. The tragedy, the destruction, and [words indistinct] is continuing in that dead town [words indistinct] in an attempt at advancing further in their bloody and drunken onslaught. The newly-established defense lines

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on the hills east and west of the town center are firm and stable, and the 5th Corps fighters are continuing to resist the Chetniks.

The attacks have continued today on the Bosanska Krupa, Cazin, and Buzim parts of the front. Everything is under attack, being destroyed, but the fact that these people have been putting in a superhuman effort in resisting [words indistinct] for 49 days from another country, and with the blessing of the international community, speaks enough for itself.

Casualties From Sarajevo Gunfire Reported

AU1912213994 Paris AFP in English 2104 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 19 (AFP)—A Bosnian soldier died and six people were wounded by gunfire in Sarajevo Monday [19 December], hospital and UN sources said. The dead soldier was one of two Bosnian troops hit on front lines in the west of the city, said Myriam Sochacki, spokeswoman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR). He died of his wounds in hospital. Two civilians and one Bosnian soldier were wounded in the southern suburb of Dobrinja in separate shooting incidents, Sochacki told AFP. Hospitals reported two other civilians wounded by sniper fire, although UNPROFOR reported there were no sniping incidents Monday.

UNHCR: Sarajevo Airlift Could Resume Soon

AU2012111894 Paris AFP in English 0934 GMT 20 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 20 (AFP)—The airlift to Sarajevo could open very shortly, bringing an acceleration of food supplies into the besieged city, Kris Janowski, spokesman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, said Tuesday [20 December].

Members of the joint task force representing the United States, France, Britain, Canada and Germany were meeting in Naples to discuss the issue and a decision to resume the airlift, perhaps by Wednesday, was "very likely." Four of the five representatives were in favour of a resumption, Janowski said.

Humanitarian flights into Sarajevo have been suspended for four weeks following a surge of tension last month over a Serb offensive in the northwestern Bihac enclave and airstrikes by allied warplanes on Serb missile batteries. UN officials were concerned that the safety of incoming aircraft could not be guaranteed.

The airport was opened to aircraft of the UN Protection Force on Saturday.

A UN source said the humanitarian situation in Bosnia had improved and that clearances for convoys were now being approved by the Serb side.

The situation in the eastern enclaves of Srebrenica, Zepa and Gorazde, which earlier this month was said to be critical, was "no longer a problem."

The Bosnian Serbs were "trying to play good," the source said. "The entire cooperation we are seeing on their part at the moment is tailored to (former US President Jimmy) Carter's taste."

Carter is completing a mediation mission in Bosnia and returned to Sarajevo late Monday from Serb territory with a package of proposals he believed could lead to a peace settlement. He is due to leave Sarajevo later in the day.

Serbs Report Muslim-Croat Clashes Near Mostar

LD1912183794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Bileca, Doboj, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Last week's suspended session of the Muslim-Croat Federal Assembly is being followed by renewed armed clashes between the two sides, which has been corroborated by Muslim and Croat radio stations in these areas and Bosnian Serb reconnaissance units in the field, TANJUG learned today from sources in the Bosnian Serb republic army. [passage omitted]

Mutual verbal recriminations then turned into a Muslim-Croat artillery duel in southern Mostar and in the Buna area, particularly between 1400-1600. Croatian Defense Council [HVO] units opened intense fire at the wider areas of Blagaj, Vranjevici, and Osljak, Serbian reconnaissance units have reported from the area.

Muslim-Croat clashes have also flared up in central Bosnia, where Croatian officials are becoming increasingly agitated over the local Muslim military leadership's refusal to allow Croatian refugees to return to their homes. [passage omitted]

Muslim Women Murdered in Croatian Part of Mostar

AU1912155494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 94

[Report by Zlata Behran from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Two elderly women, Zulejha [word indistinct] and Vahida Hadzioman, have been killed in the Mostar district of (Balinovac), in the part of the city controlled by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]. According to the investigation results so far—which is being conducted by the police of the western part of the city, and the police of the European Administration—it is clear that the elderly women were killed by bullets from automatic weapons, while the motives and the perpetrators of this crime are still not known.

Just before filing this report, we received information from the European Administration: Regarding the murder of the two women, Mr. [word indistinct], the

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deputy of European Administrator Hans Koschnik, demanded a rigorous investigation at today's meeting with (Mile Puljic), deputy commissioner with the European Administration police, and stressed that [words indistinct] engaged the team of the European police [words indistinct].

Mostar Mayor Rusmir [word indistinct] has lodged a protest, demanding on behalf of the Mostar authorities that the perpetrators be found and punished severely, adding that incidents such as this do not bode well for this period of investing maximum efforts in implementing the federation and [word indistinct] agreements.

News like this disturbs and shocks Mostar, particularly the Muslims who live in the western part of the city. Perhaps light will be thrown on this case sometime in future, but the reality is that the Muslims are still being murdered in Mostar. [passage omitted]

Mladic Criticizes International Community

LD1912150094 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 19 Dec (SRNA)—Colonel General Ratko Mladic, commander of the main headquarters of the Srpska republic army, declared yesterday evening that "the international community has found itself in a cul-de-sac as a result of careless orientations and a biased approach to the Croat-Muslim coalition in former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Speaking on the Serb television program 'Bulwark of the Motherland', Gen. Mladic noted that "the international community has lost control of the situation in Bosnia and in certain other flashpoints on this planet," warning that "this could have disastrous consequences for world peace."

"Will Europe become Islamicized, will Bosnia and the Balkans become Islamicized, or will Bosnia become Germanized?" This, in Mladic's view, is the bone of contention in Bosnia where the interests and influences of Europe's and the world's powerbrokers are overlapping, and this problem will only become more acute in the forthcoming period.

"A sad fate has befallen the Muslims owing to Alija Izetbegovic's insane desire to create some kind of fundamentalist state in Europe. Christan Europe has not taken leave of its senses to the extent of allowing the creation of some sort of 'little Iran' or anything similar on its territory", the Serb general said.

Commenting on the latest offensive by the Republic of Croatia on Kupres, Grahovo, and Glamoc, Gen. Mladic pointed out that the Croats and their sponsors are justifying this with Croatia's responsibilities to the Washington-Vienna entity in former Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Muslim-Croat federation.

"However, that is only a cover for Croatia's swindle, and the Muslims will be manipulated to the hilt in the process. I believe that the Muslims are aware of this as well," the Serb commander said.

Commenting on Muslim-Croat relations, General Mladic assessed that military formations on both sides are trying to gain the upper hand so they can continue their disputes and divide the territories they are now controlling.

"This Croat incursion into Srpska republic territory will get back at them with a vengeance. The Croats know they are outnumbered. Even if they muster all their forces and deploy them along the Dinara-Radusa line, such defenses would be pathetic. They are now euphorically expanding in Kupres. But they should remember what happened there in 1992. They should not advertise this too loudly," warned Gen. Mladic, who routed the Croats at Kupres.

"The Croats are now going out of their way to avoid a conflict with the Muslims, but we have reliable information that they have been engaged in a major showdown in the Buna area south of Mostar over the past two days. Thanks to the international community's aid, pressure exerted by the United States, Germany, and other powers, as well as the UN Protection Force's [UNPROFOR] active involvement, they are only postponing the resolution of their accumulated tensions," the Serb commander explained.

Summing up the results of the UN forces' mission in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, Gen. Mladic stressed that due to negligence displayed by certain UN commanders, certain governments, and political interests, UNPROFOR has become a vehicle for providing logistical support to the Croat-Muslim coalition.

"After being a taxi service for their politicians, generals, and diplomats, UNPROFOR has turned into a trench-digging service for the Croats and Muslims on the Bihac front," Gen. Mladic said and recalled General Rose's comment that a bloody showdown between the Muslims and the Croats will ensue only three days after UNPROFOR's pull-out.

"UNPROFOR are here for the Muslims and Croats, not for us. If they were here for the Serbs, they would help our people as they have been helping the Muslims and Croats," the Serb general underlined.

Speaking about NATO air strikes against the Serbs, Gen. Mladic asked: "What are they doing here? Why did they raid our positions at Gorazde, Sarajevo, and Bihac? Did any of our weapons systems or military formations ever threaten any NATO member-states?"

The commander of the army of the Srpska republic army explained the absurdity of the situation following NATO's direct involvement in the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina:

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"Let Holland, for instance, send its planes here, and then ask us to allow their Blue Helmets to cross our territory in order to deliver supplies to the Muslims in Srebrenica. Why would we allow them to bomb us and then be so accommodating as to lead their children by the hand over the bridge on the Drina so they can go to Holland for their Christmas holidays."

Serbian Refugees Reportedly Flee Croatian Attack

LD1912133994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1236 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Grahovo, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—Some 4,000 civilians from nine destroyed and several evacuated villages on the foothills of Mount Dinara have fled to Grahovo in the tri-border area between Bosnia, Lika, and Dalmatia after the latest Croatian offensive.

Bosko Maric, in charge of the refugees' accommodation, says that the 400 oldest have been sent to Serbia and to the republic of Serb Krajina, while 20 seriously ill refugees have been transferred to the Drvar hospital. [passage omitted]

Refugees from Provo, Caprazlije, Sajkovici, Gubin, Celebici, Bogdas, Vrbica, Radanovac, Bojmunte, and evacuees from Bastas, Crni Lug, Przin, and Kazanci are staying in Hotel Sarajevo, Dusan Jojic Joja high school, or with friends and relatives. [passage omitted]

According to priest Miladin Vukomanovic, the Church of the Descent of the Holy Spirit in Vrbica and the Church of the Ascension of the Virgin Mary in Gubin have been razed to the ground. [passage omitted]

Aid Convoys Leave for Bosnian Serb Region

LD1912150694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1454 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 19 (TANJUG)—Convoys with 154 tonnes of food and 60 tonnes of fuel left early on Monday for the Bosnian Serb republic, a spokeswoman of the UNHCR Belgrade office said in an interview.

Spokeswoman for the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees Yoko Nishimura said the 154 tonnes of food had been sent to the towns of Bratunac, Vlasenica and Sokolac in eastern Bosnia.

She said 36 tonnes of fuel had gone to the town of Bijeljina and 12 tonnes to the town of Brcko, both in northeastern Bosnia, and six tonnes of fuel to each the village of Milici in eastern Bosnia and Pale, the Bosnian Serb republic's administrative center.

Nishimura said the UNHCR would on Tuesday send two convoys with food and fuel to the Muslim-held towns of Gorazde and Srebrenica in eastern Bosnia, and three food convoys to the Herzegovina towns of Gacko, Nevesinje and Trebinje.

UN's Rose Views Achievements, Problems

LD1912231094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2229 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Commander for Bosnia-Herzegovina Gen. Michael Rose said Monday [19 December] that several chances for peace in Bosnia had been missed in the past few months.

In an interview with the Radio Television of Serbia, Gen. Rose said that he was very concerned over the developments in the field and that fighting had stepped up in the past few months. Referring to comments that some people accused him of supporting the Serbs, Gen. Rose said he did not support anyone in the Bosnian conflict.

Gen. Rose said that Bosnian Muslim forces had been the first to launch an offensive from the U.N.-designated 'safe area' of Bihac in northwestern Bosnia in late October and also to attack Bosnian Serb positions from the demilitarized zone of Mt. Igman, south of Sarajevo, in September.

Commenting on what the Bosnian Serbs should do following Muslim attacks, Gen. Rose said UNPROFOR tried to create conditions in which no one would have to use force and which would bring about peace. He said this could be achieved through negotiations alone. He said UNPROFOR's task was to persuade the Bosnian warring sides to refrain from attacking and launching offensives and to observe agreements.

Gen. Rose said he believed that, if the warring sides did so and showed good will and confidence in the peace process, there would be no need for the attacks. Following the Bosnian Muslim offensive from the 'safe area' of Bihac which the international community ignored, the Bosnian Serbs had retaken all the lost territories in a counter-offensive. The international community responded to the Bosnian Serb counter-offensive with air strikes on their positions.

Gen. Rose said the U.N. Protection Force was not an occupying force in the former Yugoslavia and that its sole task was to provide humanitarian aid. He said that, for the first time in U.N. history, U.N. peacekeepers had been engaged before the warring sides opted for peace. He said that UNPROFOR and the U.N. high commissioner for refugees had kept alive people who had horribly been affected by the war and supplied food to 2.7 million people, but that this had gone unrecorded.

Gen. Rose said UNPROFOR had managed to reduce the number of conflicts and had helped people take care of themselves. He said that UNPROFOR had saved the lives of several million people for the past two and a half years of the war and that this was a huge sucess.

Gen. Rose said the results currently being achieved in the field were not as good as those achieved last summer

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because the fighting had stepped up. He said the developments in central Bosnia were returning to peace and normal life after the setting up of the Muslim-Croat federation in Bosnia. He said that, guided by the experience from central Bosnia, he intended to create the same conditions for peace in other parts of Bosnia.

People Look for New Homes in Western Bosnia

LD2012141594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 20 Dec 94

[By Vera Barisic]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Petrovac, Dec. 29 [date as received] (TANJUG)—Trails of death and smoke still hang over the road leading from Petrovac to Bihac, the main artery of a Muslim offensive on the Bosnian Serb territory a month ago. Along the 54-km road, there is nothing but devastation—roofless houses, windows and doors ripped off, walls smoked to pitch black. Beardless youths, almost children in uniforms, can be seen everywhere around. A Bosnian Serb student brigade now stands on the line of separation.

The Serbian orthodox church last week sent humanitarian aid to the area, and a group of reporters accompanied the shipment. Bishop Hrizostom of Bihac and Petrovac said Muslims had killed and destroyed everything on their way, including livestock. He said many people had been found hanged in the village of Lipa. 'They hanged a 76-year-old man. How can they be called human...' he wondered.

In the razed village of Dubovsko, 18 km south-east of Bihac, the reporters met Djordje Lakic (61), who had just returned home after three weeks of exile. 'Before, there were 20 families in the village, but now only six have returned. All that they (Muslims) couldn't break or take away, they burnt in front of the house, to let nothing remain intact,' he said.

Six or seven civilians had been killed and all houses burnt down in the village of Doljani three kilometers from Dubovsko, he said. Bishop Hrizostom said Bosnian Serb soldiers had found in the village a butchered old woman with knife thrusted deep in the chest.

Over the pass of Ripac, December sun opened a clear prospect of Bihac and the Una River while heavy guns were roaring accompanied by continuing small arms fire.

The plundered and partially razed village of Bijelo Brdo offered an even better view of Muslim positions around Ripica Glavica. Most houses in the village have been looted and the home of Boja and Mirko Mihajlovic now lacks even things like door-handles, taps and electric sockets. 'They took away our firewood and all winter stores, including pork,' said Boja.

On a crossroad at dusk, the reporters met a family leaving the devastated village of Pritoka with all their movable property packed on a tractor—looking for a new home.

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Tudjman Meets Hogg, Explains Position on Talks

LD1912233694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] We have just received the following statement from the office of the president of the Republic of Croatia:

President Franjo Tudjman today received Douglas Hogg, minister of state at the British Foreign Office. The meeting was also attended by Ambassador Miomir Zuzul, the president's special envoy; Ante Cicin-Sain, the Croatian ambassador in London; Gavin Hewitt, the British ambassador in Zagreb; Zeljko Matic, the president's foreign policy adviser, and Tim Barrow, Minister Hogg's personal secretary.

The talks centered on bilateral relations, the peace process in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and possibilities for continuing the process of normalizing Croatian-Serbian relations.

President Tudjman was informed about talks with a group of British economists who, in Zagreb, are examining the scope for greater cooperation between Britain and Croatia. The president stressed that Croatia is interested in the best possible relations with Great Britain in all areas.

There was also discussion of the possibility of finding a peaceful solution to the crisis in Croatia, the reintegration of Croatia's occupied areas, and the implementation of the agreement signed by the Croatian Government and representatives of the rebel Serbs. President Tudjman stressed that Croatia, if no start is made in implementing the agreement, would annul the mandate of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]. The president added that Croatia is interested in continuing the normalization of relations with Serbia on the basis of the recognition of Croatia by Belgrade within its internationally recognized borders—something which is also supported by the British Government.

President Tudjman stressed that Croatia cannot accept any procrastination over resolving the issue of the occupied areas, and there is no question of there being any kind of concessions as regards deadlines and ways of resolving this matter. Croatia requests that Belgrade stop helping Serb extremists in the occupied Croatian areas, and the international community should make a contribution here by exerting pressure itself.

There was also discussion of the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The president spoke of the causes and development of the crisis and pointed to the danger of it becoming exacerbated and spreading. In order to prevent this from happening, President Tudjman called for greater activity by the international community and greater pressure for a peaceful settlement.

The Croatian president expressed support for the implementation of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation and its confederation with Croatia, and support for the comprehensive development of relations with Great Britain. [passage omitted]

Serbian Leaders Mark Anniversary of 'Sovereignty'

AU1912172294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] It has been three years today since the proclamation of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] and the passing of its constitution. Numerous festivities have been held in connection with this, on which the TANJUG correspondent from Knin, Sava Jankovic, reports:

[Jankovic] In a string of festivities, a ceremonial session of the Krajina parliament was held, too, that was attended by the delegations of Serbia and the Srpska republic. Radovan Pankov led the delegation of the Serbian assembly and government and Nedeljko Rasuo the Srpska republic delegation.

Addressing the deputies on the occasion of the republic's birthday, President Milan Martic among other things said that this has emerged as a result of the resistance against the Croatian state terror. He reminded that the RSK has all the attributes of a state, legally elected authorities, and armed forces that are ready and capable of defending its sovereignty.

Krajina, its president underlined, is permanently determined for a peace option in the international sphere and internally for the strengthening of a law-governed state and the rule of the law and establishment of democratic principles in the decisionmaking. On this occasion, Martic again called for the complete unity of all national segments because of, as he stressed, the unfavorable encirclement, constant threats, and illegal and inhumane blockade.

Beside all this, Martic adds, in the peace negotiating process, the RSK has won the right to negotiate on an equal footing about all issues that concern its fate.

This fact was also stressed by Radovan Pankov, who said that without the RSK a peaceful solution of these territories cannot be found. On this occasion, Pankov repeated the well-known Serbian stance that a permanent and lasting solution to the crisis on the former Yugoslav territories can only be found through a policy of peace. He emphasized Serbia's clear and steadfast position that the Serbian people outside Serbia have the right to decide with whom and how they will live.

Article Views Battle for Vukovar

95BA0056A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 28 Nov 94 pp 26-27

[Article by Gojko Marinkovic, AIM News Agency: "Vukovar Versus Vukovar"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Unconfirmed stories are circulating in Zagreb these days to the effect that a delegation of Serbs from Pale visited Zagreb and on that occasion offered President Tudjman their "peace plan." In short, the Karadzicites are ready to help Croatia get Knin to fall silently, much like Kupres, but in return Croatia would have to renounce the parts of western Slavonia and Baranja now occupied and cede to the Srpska republic Prevlaka and part of the coast, while Dubrovnik would get a deeper hinterland on the stony ground of Herzegovina. The same sources say that Tudjman rejected any possibility of that kind of bargaining with territory, which obviously was not cooked up in Pale, but in Belgrade. Tudjman has been stubbornly repeating that Croatia will once again be entire in its internationally recognized borders and has never once confirmed the authenticity of Karadzic's statements about some kind of "gentlemen's agreement." Although, it must be acknowledged, he has never directly ruled that out either, sticking firmly to his position that changes of borders are possible, but not changes detrimental to Croatia.

This episode in which the people from Pale supposedly came to the Croatian president's palace occurred just before the third anniversary of the day when the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], along with the chetnik hordes, entered Vukovar, having first totally destroyed it after a siege lasting 100 days. During those 100 days of defense Vukovar became a symbol of resistance for Croats, and we recall that Croatia at that time had no weapons. Wartime unity was built on it, as it was afterward on Dubrovnik, Zadar, Gospic, Sisak, Sibenik, and Karlovac, but Vukovar itself and Dubrovnik were actually a pledge to Croatia's recognition as an independent and self-sufficient state.

In those days of autumn 1991 all the media were repeating day after day, minute by minute: If Vukovar falls, Croatia will also fall! Vukovar did fall, and Croatia was left "truncated," missing one-third of its internationally recognized territory. After Vukovar was "liberated" from its own citizens, a veil of silence and secrecy existed around it for a long time. No one knew how to explain why what happened happened, had it been treason or not, or had the defenders simply had to give in to an enemy that was several dozen times stronger? In the meantime there was the affair in which tape recordings of conversations between Mile "Hawk" Dedakovic and Zagreb, that is, Tudjman, were made public. That is why SLOBODNI TJEDNIK was banned, on grounds that this was a military secret, and then came Dedakovic's arrest.

A Premiere at the Europa

The people from Vukovar are scattered all over Croatia; some, the richer ones, settled in hotels and began to engage in business, while the poorer ones still live in old railroad cars or the numerous settlements of displaced persons. The Vukovar military unit was never organized, it never assembled on parade to receive recognition, decorations, and the Commemorative Medals of the Homeland War. On the contrary, they were dispersed among other units, and they were sent on the most difficult missions. Branko "Little Hark" Borkovic, the last commander of the city's defense, testified about all this a few days ago on Croatian television, saying that the Vukovar fighters are treated as though they have the plague, as though they were traitors, not heroes. Someone wanted it that way.

That is how it was until this year, until 18 November of this year, when the third anniversary was celebrated with countless events, and when the Vukovar fighters finally lined up in formation in Djakovo at a celebration attended even by Janko Bobetko, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army. "We are not here," Bobetko said, "to lament, but to record what Vukovar did for the good of Croatia. In Vukovar the forces of Serbian expansionism were bent on destroying the Croatian people, sparing no means of doing so. However, it was their own backbone that was broken there, and if that had not occurred, then the front would have been somewhere near Dugo Selo. Zagreb would have been devastated as Sarajevo is today. The Homeland War unified all of Croatia and will go down in its history as the best confirmation that expanded Serbia is a pure Utopia, and what is happening now is its death throes."

The premiere of the film "Vukovar Goes Back Home," directed by Branko Schmidt, with a screenplay by Pavao Pavlicic, born in Vukovar, has shown that Vukovar is needed once again as a symbol around which Croats will unite. Almost all the leaders of Croatia, headed by Dr. Tudjman, who declared that Croatia has an obligation to return to Vukovar, saw the film, along with many people from Vukovar and Zagreb, in the Zagreb movie theater Europa. And the main speaker in the ceremonies, Defense Minister Gojko Susak, declared: "Before this gathering of the highest officials of Croatia, the Croatian parliament, and the government, I promise you with full responsibility: Croatia will go to Vukovar, with or without the help of the international community.

"Logistical" Preparation

Documentary material from the time of the city's worst siege, with pictures of its devastation and depopulation, is used in the film, but it centers on a little man from Vukovar who lives with his fellow citizens in old railroad cars and at one point sets in motion a locomotive, which symbolically moves in the direction of his city. The film is the Croatian candidate for an Oscar in competition for the best film outside the English-speaking world. It so happens that both the Serbs and the Croats have chosen as their best film a film devoted to Vukovar, since "Vukovar: General Delivery" by Boro Draskovic is a candidate for the highest film prize. Branko Schmidt says: "I have not seen Draskovic's film, but he is not one of their directors whom I ever respected. If what I have heard about the film is true, I think this is above all his

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moral problem. It will be interesting to learn what side the esteemed film jury takes in an Oscar competition, which might be referred to as Vukovar vs Vukovar."

Pavao Pavlicic would refer to this move by the Serbian Government as a "theft of a symbol," since "in Vukovar the Serbian soldiery destroyed much more than a city. Vukovar, with its Central European culture, with its multicultural character, its multiethnic character, and tolerance, was a symbol of what Europe is striving for. When it permitted the destruction of Vukovar, Europe thereby destroyed itself and the only idea on which it can survive."

That is why it is a good thing to recall some figures. Before the war Vukovar Opstina had a population of 84,189, of whom 36,910 were Croats and 31,445 Serbs. The city of Vukovar itself had a population of 44,639, of whom 21,065 were Croats and 14,452 were Serbs. But the example of Ilok, which before the war had only 484 Serbs, while the Croats were an immense majority with 4,228 inhabitants, best demonstrates that the Serbs and their armies did not take that into account. The figures on ethnic composition, which have always been a pretext for liberation, are still more astounding in the case of Baranja. Beli Manastir Opstina, now "Serbian Baranja," had a population of 54,265, consisting of 22,740 Croats, 13,851 Serbs, and 8,956 Hungarians. But who cares about figures, since they were not an occasion for war anyway; if they had been, what would the Serbian units have done, say, in Drnis, where there were 18,732 Croats and only 4,974 Serbs!

But if the day is far off when Vukovar will go back home, and the day still further off when the Serbs and Croats and all the others here will again live together; a new battle for Vukovar has already begun. This time through the movies, but if one is to judge by the statements on the Croatian side, this is only the "logistical" preparation for the real return, which, as matters now stand, will not happen without war. For that matter, is there any example in history when someone voluntarily abandoned what he had taken militarily? And if there is, then it was always as a bargaining chip, as Tito did in entering Trieste, since this was the only way of getting Istria.

So, regardless of the threats and promises coming from Tudjman, Bobetko, or Susak, the people of Vukovar are returning home only in the film. It may sound exaggerated, but it is difficult to escape the impression that their tragedy has been put to bad use once again.

Dalj Serbs Charged With Genocide

95BA0053C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 94 p 20

[Article by M. Sajler: "Criminals Indicted"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Osijek—The District State Attorney's Office in Osijek has completed an extensive investigation against 27 Serb renegades from Dalj who, according to the indictment, committed crimes against humanity and international law—genocide. They are Vaso Gavrilovic, Sreten Ratranovic, Milan Borojevic, Milan Damjanovic, Mladen Dragic, Djordje Kajic, Boro Mihajlovic, Borivoje Milinkovic, Georgi Milinkovic, Djordje Ocic, Caslav Ocic, Ozren Ocic, Stanko Stojakovic, Bogdan Tatomir, Caslav Zelic, Djordje Calosevic, Vladimir Dencic, Bozidar Dobric, Dejan Djokic, Pero Djuric, Milorad Loncarevic, Djordje Milinkovic, Jovan Milinkovic, Ilija Utvic, Djordje Vazic, Lazar Vidic, and Zoran Kecman.

The indictment charges them with having provided logistical support to the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], which occupied Dalj, during the period from November 1991 to April 1992. They set up a paramilitary government and thereby rebelled against the Republic of Croatia. During that time the accused carried out ethnic cleansing of Dalj and in doing so committed several murders of non-Serb inhabitants, as confirmed by witnesses. Helena Sabo says that Djordje Calosevic and Ilija Utvic killed her husband and forced her to sign away all her personal property and real estate to the Local Community.

At the behest of Djordje Calosevic and Milorad Loncarevic, Vaso Gavrilovic and Zoran Kecman drove out of Dalj and out of the so-called Krajina 90 Croats, 11 Hungarians, two Muslims, and one Slovak, appropriating all their property.

It is also of interest that Borivoje Milinkovic set up a drumhead court in a nursery school, where he tried Croats and other non-Serbs from Dalj. Many people were killed in Dalj and buried in common graves. The District State Attorney's Office has gathered detailed information on all the crimes and will soon begin the trial of these criminals. They will be tried in absentia, since the accused are not accessible to the Croatian judicial system.

General Petkovic Reassigned to Croatian Army

94BA0067A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Nov 94 p 11

[Article by Zeljko Buksa: "General Petkovic Is Returning..."]

[FBIS Translated Text] *General Milivoj Petkovic, born in Vrpolje near Sibenik, is returning to the Croatian Army [HV], which he left voluntarily in 1992 for the Croatian Defense Council [HVO.]*

Zagreb—The dilemma of where Major General Milivoj Petkovic, until recently the chief of the HVO General Staff, who was replaced in that position at the end of the summer by Major General Tihomir Blaskic, should go has finally been resolved. As we have learned, General Petkovic has become chief of staff of the Osijek Corps Area, replacing Brigadier Darko Grdic, known as one of the commanders of the Zagreb defense at the very beginning of the war, who has moved to a new position at the HV General Staff.

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There is no doubt that Major General Djuro Decak, commander of that HV Corps Area, has gained an experienced colleague. Specifically, 44-year-old Milivoj Petkovic, currently a general, born in Vrpolje near Sibenik, graduated from a military academy in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], and held several positions until the beginning of 1991, when he left the aggressor's army and joined the HV's 113th Brigade. In the middle of April 1992, after the battles at Kupres, he voluntarily joined the HVO.

He spent almost the entire time in the position of chief of the HVO General Staff, and was replaced only briefly in that position by Generals Ante Roso and Slobodan Praljak.

According to him, after spending almost two and a half years in the HVO, after General Rose went to Sarajevo, he himself asked to leave that area. "I was tired, and someone younger needed to come. I have been separated from my family for three years," General Petkovic explained his rather sudden departure.

After briefly working with General Blaskic regarding the transfer of duties, he went on leave in August 1994, and requested that he return afterwards to the HV, which he left for the HVO as a volunteer. He also, however, indicated the possibility of coming back if the peace initiatives failed and the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina flared up again, since that, as he stated, was his moral obligation, since he headed the HVO the longest.

It is hard to believe, however, that he will decide to go back soon after his appointment to his new position, even though the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina have been escalating lately, and his war experience from Bosnia-Herzegovina, depending on how the situation develops, could also be needed in the future in eastern Slavonia.

HDZ Deputy Criticizes Privatization Proceedings

95BA0053B Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 22 Nov 94 p 4

[Unsigned article: "Vera Stanic: 'A Handful of Capitalists Have Exploited Their Patriotism'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After her speech, which lasted almost an hour, Deputy Vera Stanic (HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union]) was heartily applauded by all the deputies in the chamber. What she did was to enumerate specific examples of the transformation and privatization that made it evident that the law has been evaded or cleverly exploited for certain people's private benefit. She objected to assertions that the HDZ had drafted the Law on Transformation intentionally in order to make it possible for members of the party to enrich themselves, but she does think that the HDZ could have done more in the areas of justice and ethics. She cited a number of public enterprises in which the law has been violated time and time again. Additional evidence and examples of violations of the law are coming in from officials in those firms, she said. She spoke about the public enterprise of Croatian forests and the Croatian railroads, and she also said that she had personally delivered to the Agency for Protection of the Consistutional Order a file on illegalities in payment of indemnities by Croatia Osiguranje [insurance]. "Unfortunately," she said, "nothing more came of it." Vera Stanic also cited several examples indicating that small stockholders and casualties of the Homeland War have been shortchanged in the transformation and privatization. There were even examples of the state budget being shortchanged.

"The enterprise Tutunovic," Vera Stanic said, "received a loan of 400,000 German marks [DM] from the Employment Security Bureau in order to care for, that is, employ, disabled veterans of the Homeland War. The disabled people have been working, but they have not been receiving their pay, but Tutunovic nevertheless has not repaid the loan it received. The Financial Police have also received three charges, and a proposal to initiate an investigation has been sent to the State Prosecutor's Office, but there has been no response. The Bautic car dealership cheated the state out of the tax it should have paid on 100 imported automobiles worth about DM1,000,000.

The automobiles, that is, were sold, but the tax obligations were not met, Vera Stanic said.

The Commercial Court, the deputy said, has also been making mistakes, since it has been allowing liquidation of firms which have not paid their debts to the state, such as Teuta Trade and Faust, whose debts have reached even DM3,000,000. Croatian emigres are also dissatisfied. She singled out in this connection the example of Dr. Zvonimir Rilovic, who, she says, was deceived three times: in privatization of the enterprises Splendid and Kerametal of Zagreb and again with Mladost. He even paid for 25 percent of the stock in Mladost in cash, but nevertheless Dragomir Kovacevic, the director, still has the right to dispose of that enterprise, to sell it off, and he has fired 1,250 of its workers, and, according to Vera Stanic, he has been draining capital out of Croatia through his other firms.

Small stockholders have either been shortchanged or deceived in privatization of the firms Domus and Gramat of Rijeka, Termik of Novi Marof, the Kvarner GP [construction firm] and Labud of Zagreb, Koteks of Split, Plasmas of Zagreb, Sesvetski Magazin, a wholesale firm in Zagreb and Daruvar, Polet of Lusbreg, and the firm Foto of Zagreb. Nor has there been any answer to the question of how the Holiday hotel could have changed its value three times—from DM9,000,000 to 13,800,00 and then 29,500,000. That last price makes the Holiday the second most expensive hotel in Croatia, immediately after the Intercontinental.

A handful of capitalists have obviously been created in Croatia; overnight they have exploited their "patriotism," but at the same time they have also generated general dissatisfaction, Deputy Stanic concluded,

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demanding that all the injustices be urgently corrected, that the guilty parties be punished, that certain transformations be canceled, and the law revised. She proposes a short-term moratorium—a month or two—on all transformations until the key problems are solved.

Vedris Remains Independent Deputy

95BA0053A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 17 Nov 94 p 2

[Interview with Mladen Vedris, deputy in the Croatian parliament and president of the Croatian Chamber of Commerce, by Aleksa Crnjakovic; date and place not given: "Mladen Vedris Still an Independent"]

[FBIS Translated Text] There is no doubt that VJESNIK had what journalists call a scoop that day: Mladen Vedris has become a member of the caucus of the HND [Croatian Independent Democrats]! The news was surprising not only because this is a politician who has held a number of important posts—among them prime minister in the Zagreb Government and deputy prime minister in the republic government—but also because he recently withdrew from the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], again to the great surprise of the public.

Does this mean that the present president of the Chamber of Commerce will join Mesic and Manolic? There were many questions, and there was also amazement: What is the party commitment of Mladen Vedris, who has long been seen as the president's white-haired boy and a man with a brilliant political career ahead of him?

We sought an answer from Mladen Vedris himself; he was surprised at the reaction of a segment of the public, and especially by the distorted interpretation of an act that is a pure technicality.

[Crnjakovic]: Mr. Vedris, you are an independent deputy. You still remain outside the parliamentary parties, even outside the HND?

[Vedris]: Yes. That is so clear that I am amazed that the brief news report aroused so much political wonderment. The HND caucus offered its technical services to independent deputies until a separate caucus is organized; Mirko Madjor, a deputy, provided the initiative for this. The deputies receive various reports, they must prepare for sessions, they have to submit amendments, they must have material delivered that is essential to their work on parliamentary committees and in the sessions of the parliament itself. The way I see my work as a deputy, I would not refuse a conversation in any caucus of any parliamentary party, were I invited, and if my arguments could make for better preparation of the work of the parliament, especially since I am also president of the Croatian Chamber of Commerce. But I believe that the caucus of independent deputies will be organized before the end of the present session of the parliament. That will facilitate the work of us independents and also of you journalists, and it will also be welcome to the public in following relations on the Croatian political scene.

[Crnjakovic]: Does this mean that you will not be joining any party in the near future?

[Vedris]: Precisely so. I remain an independent deputy.

[Crnjakovic]: Can you be politically active in that fashion?

[Vedris]: Certainly not in the most effective way or permanently. However, this is still the best possibility under the circumstances and in this time.

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Greek Party Official Urges Peace, Dialogue

LD1912124294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1215 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Dec. 19 (TANJUG)—All Balkan issues, the dispute between Greece and The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM] included, could be solved through dialogue, a Greek party official said late Sunday.

Nikos Konstandopoulos, chairman of the Coalition of the United Democratic Left and the Progressive Party, arrived in Skopje late Sunday for a two-day official visit. This is the first visit by a Greek official to the newly-founded state.

Konstandopoulos is expected to meet with FYROM President Kiro Gligorov.

Konstandopoulos said his party urged permanent cooperation among Balkan countries, modelled along the lines of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Konstandopoulos said, 'the Balkans belongs to Balkan people, but they must also become part of Europe's future...The Balkans should not be used as a battlefield for the rival interests of certain European countries and the United States.'

Greece and FYROM have no diplomatic relations, since Athens' view is that it has a historical and exclusive right to the term 'Macedonia' and that FYROM has to change its state symbols.

Konstandopoulos's views carry 'specific weight' in the political life of Greece, although his coalition does not hold any seats in the Greek parliament. The coalition, however, holds seats in the European parliament in Strasbourg.

Konstandopoulos's visit to FYROM is an extremely important stage in his previously commenced Balkan tour that has already taken him to Belgrade, Sofia and Tirana, the capitals of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania.

Konstandopoulos plans to visit also Ankara and Bucharest, the capitals of Turkey and Romania.

Konstandopoulos's tour is aimed at promoting his party's idea on setting up a Balkan association, whose role would be similiar to that of the CSCE.

His initiative has already been accepted as a 'mini-csce' by Balkan countries, and is believed to be a follow-up to all the political ideas embodied in the formula 'the Balkans to the Balkan peoples.'

Tetovo University To Open Despite Opposition

AU1912113194 Tirana RILINDJA in Albanian 16 Dec 94 p 3

[Report by F. Kristaj and I. Arsilani: "Arrestees Freed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tetovo, 15 Dec—After the police intervention on the premises ot Tetovo University and the police raids on the university headquarters and the offices of Arhen Xhaferi's Party of Democratic Prosperity [PPD], armed police forces of the Macedonian Internal Affairs Ministry withdrew to their barracks at Tetovo. We have learned unofficially that some Albanian officials in the government and the PPD have had tough talks with the Macedonian leadership, and it is thought that this is why the police have withdrawn.

Today's news concerns the release from prison of Dr. Fadil Sylemani, chairman of the university's Founding Council, who was held by the police until 2300 last night. Milaim Fejziu, chairman of the Forum for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, and the proprietors of the Aza Printing Press in Tetovo were also released slightly earlier. At the moment, the businessman Taxhedin Ibrahimi is under arrest, on the pretext of having materially assisted the university. It is also understood that several dozen citizens who materially supported the inauguration of the university have been summoned for investigative discussions. It has been reported that the CSCE mission in Skopje stood up for Dr. Fadil Sylejmani, calling on the Macedonian state authorities to release him immediately. Statements condemning the police repression and supporting the full inauguration of the university are arriving from branches and subbranches of political parties and other groups.

Members of the university's Founding Council confirmed again at several meetings with journalists that, in spite of all obstacles, the University of Tetovo will be inaugurated on Saturday, 17 December. However, the details of the formal ceremony, including its venue and the list of participants, have still not been decided.

Dr. Fadil Sylejmani was expected to arrive at the offices of Arben Xhaferi's PPD at 1500 and to hold a news conference, but he had not arrived at the time of going to press. Journalists from different newspapers were extremely interested in talking to him.

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Appraisal of Second Round of Local Elections

AU1912165194 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 19 Dec 94

[Report by Bojan Veselinovic]

[FBIS Translated Text] Information about mayors elected in all 147 Slovene municipalities shows that, on the basis of the number of mayoral seats, the independent candidates were the most successful although it must be added that some of them won with the support of local parties and that some of them are actually exclusively representatives of the parties that were too late in the nomination procedure.

However, limiting ourselves merely to what was written on the ballots, independent candidates won in 29 municipalities, which entails 23 percent of the entire electorate. They also hold three out of 11 urban municipalities, namely, Maribor with 108,000 voters, Kranj with 138,000 voters, and Slovenj Gradec with 12,000 voters. Among the bigger municipalities with independent mayors we should also mention Zalec and Kamnik with 29,000 and 22,000 voters respectively. The smallest municipalities are Smartno ob Paki and Vuzenica with 2,000 voters each.

The Peoples' Party [SLS] has 27 mayors in the municipalities that entail 10 percent of the entire electorate. The party did not win in a single urban municipality. With 26,000 voters, their biggest municipality is Slovenska Bistrica, while municipalities with 3,000 to 5,000 voters prevail. Zavrc has the least, 1,000 voters.

The Liberal Democracy of Slovenia [LDS] has 23 mayors, of which four are in urban municipalities, namely, Ljubljana with 212,000 voters, Celje with 39,000 voters, Nova Gorica with 33,000 voters, and Murska Sobota with 16,000 voters. The LDS mayors cover a territory inhabited by a good 28 percent of the electorate. The biggest among the rural municipalities is Brezice with 19,000 and the smallest Kobilje with 500 voters.

In 21 municipalities, the mayors will be from the Christian Democratic Party [SKD], among which Novo Mesto with 38,000 voters is the only urban municipality with a SKD mayor. This party has mayors in municipalities that all together represent a good 11 percent of the electorate. Krsko with 22,000 voters is the biggest municipality with a SKD mayor, followed by Skofja Loka and Sentjur pri Celju with more than 15,000 voters, where the mayors won as a result of joint support of the SKD, the SLS, and the Social Democrats [SDSS]. The smallest municipality with a SKD mayor—Osilnica—has 300 voters.

The Social Democrats have mayors in 18 municipalities, among which one urban municipality, Ptuj, with 25,000 voters. This party, including its mayors, controls a little more than 7.5 percent of the entire electorate. Among the bigger municipalities with Social Democratic mayors we should single our Jesenice with 20,000 voters, while Trzic, Ivancna Gorica, and Sezana have approximately 10,000 voters each. Their number, 1,000 is the lowest in Odranci.

The United List [ZLSD] won in two urban municipalities, namely, in Koper with 36,000 voters and in Velenje with 24,000. This party, including its mayors, also won in 11 rural municipalities and, all in all, controls a good 11 percent of the electorate. The biggest in terms of voters among the municipalities with ZSLD mayors is Domzale with 23,000 voters and the smallest is Borovnica with 3,000 voters.

The Alliance for Primorska won in Kobarid and Divaca. Both municipalities are inhabited by less than 4,000 voters. The Slovene Craftsmen-Entrepreneurial Party won in Videm municipality with 6,000 voters.

The information about the number of mayor's seats for each party mentioned above only takes into account the candidates who won without the support of other parties. There are quite a few of those who won with the support of several parties. In this way, five mayors won with the support of the LDS and the SKD, three were supported by the SDSS, the SLS, and the SKD, two mayors won with the support of the SKD and the SDSS, one candidate with the support of the Slovene National Democrats and the SKD, and two mayors with the support of the ZLSD and the LDS.

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Federal

Kontic: International Reintegration in 1995

LD1912204694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1629 GMT 19 Dec 94

Belgrade, Dec. 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Prime Minister Radoje Kontic on Monday said he was convinced that Yugoslavia would fully be reintegrated into the international community in 1995.

Kontic said he was sure the country would also embark on a path of more intensive economic recovery. Kontic said at the observance of the 50th anniversary of the official gazette that 1994 had been an extremely successful if not the most successful year for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Kontic said Yugoslavia's international position had significantly improved in 1994 and the country had taken a radical turn at the domestic level in economic and social affairs. He said the international community had finally realized that Yugoslavia was an unavoidable factor of stability in the Balkans. Kontic said Yugoslavia had throughout urged a negotiated solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, thanks to which he said the United Nations sanctions had been eased and the country's international position significantly improved.

Kontic said Yugoslavia had achieved outstanding economic results in 1994, which he said could hardly be found anywhere else in the world. Kontic said that, by eliminating hyperinflation, Yugoslavia had practically become one of the stablest countries in terms of prices, budget financing and public spending from real sources.

Kontic said the standards of living had also significantly improved and all the positive results had been achieved without any external financial aid and strictly on the basis of the domestic know-how.

Croatian Envoy to Belgrade Views Relations

AU1912195294 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 94 p 2

[Interview with Zvonimir Markovic, chief of the Croatian Bureau in Belgrade, by Andjelka Popovic; place and date not given: "Recognition in the First Place"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"The agreement on the establishment of economic relations and traffic between the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] and the Republic of Croatia is a great thing, more so because it is linked to some deadlines, meaning that it is not left up to somebody's will and that the assistance was more than abundant—almost the entire world has gotten involved in the search for modalities and ways of getting out of this crisis," Zvonimir Markovic, chief of the Bureau of the Croatian Government in Belgrade, stated to VECERNJE NOVOSTI.*

To the question of why the signing of this agreement was being postponed for more than two years, the chief of the Croatian Bureau said: "How late we were is best known by our poor people, who had to wait in refugee camps, far away from their homes, and be victimized by the people who appeared in the meantime. Those are various speculators, war profiteers, 'hungry' leaders, that is, all those who in a way made professions out of the people's tragedy. I think that we spent those years in the worst possible way, bringing about another war, a small one, that will certainly continue even after this agreement is implemented, because all those who had gotten used to an easy life at the expense of the victims of war will further endeavor to make a profit.

"Our problem is in the fact that we have always been sluggish, deaf, and unwilling, as if we must be forced to accept peace and a normal state."

[Popovic] How do you assess the statement by Vladimir Seks that even this agreement is just one among many and a dead letter?

[Markovic] If we started analyzing Seks' or [Defense Minister] Susak's statements, mine or yours or those of many others, we would get lost in a forest of such statements and never find a way out. I think that the answer is in the following: Apart from the fact that some people can be neurasthenic, even if they are politicians, this difficult situation is a great burden upon all of us. For that reason it is not difficult to tempt somebody into making an inadequate statement.

[Popovic] Then why has a rapid mobilization and piling up of troops and equipment been carried out along the border between the RSK and the Republic of Croatia immediately after the agreement was signed?

Exaggerated Calculations

[Markovic] The answer to this question could be given from several points of view in several ways. It could be said: One thing is signed, while a different thing is done; or that we are entering a process, but since we do not know how it will develop we have to prepare ourselves for any eventuality. The third answer would be—[Milan] Martic has set off to take Bihac, which is a reason for Croatia to mobilize its forces. The last, fourth answer would be—well, it is a complete madhouse! Therefore, in my contacts with foreign journalists and diplomats I always plead and beg: Do not leave us alone! Because we neither know how, nor are we able to find a way out, nor do some people want to, so you should handle us in a stricter way, regardless of which side is in question.

[Popovic] Still, on what basis is your conviction founded that the Serbs in Krajina should recognize the sovereignty of Croatia and live as its citizens, when, according to the data issued by EU [European Union] observers, up to 500 Serbs, loyal citizens, "voluntarily" emigrate from Croatia on a daily basis?

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[Markovic] Well, you see that those poor people are stretched from Obrovac to Beli Manastir, which is more than 1,300 kilometers. Most of that area is underdeveloped, and people there are having many difficulties. If the entire world has a clear program today, a settlement for that region, if it is said that it is an integral part of Croatia, then it should be recognized as such. Only thereafter could autonomy be realized in those regions where Serbian citizens make up more than 50 percent. Unquestionably, in such a case the highest standards fostered by Europe would be applied, and there would no longer be any problems or misunderstandings.

As for the emigration of 500 Serbs on a daily basis, if this were true, I would be ashamed. If we summed up, we would see that according to this calculation there are 2 million Serbs in Croatia, even though the last federal census in 1991, the brochure on which was printed and issued in Belgrade, clearly says that there are 560,000 of them. Besides, Croatia cannot do whatever it wants to with the territory of the current RSK. It must do its "homework" which is assessed by the international public, that is, how it has settled the question of basic human, national, religious, cultural, and social rights.

[Popovic] What about the demand that Croatia should stretch as far as to Zemun [suburb of Belgrade]?

[Markovic] It is true that in Croatia there are still people who want a border at the Drina River, but on the other hand you also have a border on the Kupa River. If we should start in determining our borders from maximalist, or better said deranged positions, our borders would overlap by 600 kilometers, which is neither nationalism nor chauvinism, but sheer pathology. If Europe were to settle similar problems following our model, then it would be a slaughterhouse.

Concrete Contacts

[Popovic] Tell us something more about the Bureau, the people turning to you for help, and the results achieved so far.

[Markovic] To us the primary thing was a "soft landing" in Belgrade. We wanted to show that we are people of good will who want to help free all of us from the evil in which we happen to be in, rather than to engage ourselves in petty politics. I have to admit that it was not easy. So far more than 15,000 people have passed through this Bureau. There have been Serbs, Croats, members of other nationalities, but what they all have in common is their tragic destinies. Each and every one of them came with his or her own pain and hardships, and all of them want just one thing—a step toward the end and settlement of this conflict. They have had enough of persecution in their own countries. Many of them saw what Belgrade is like, what Knin is like, and are aware that they cannot accommodate themselves to living either here or there. Many are living in between the past and the present, or the present and the future. All the problems of those people are bound up precisely with the past. They are running away from the present, while burdened with the future. I say therefore that there is little we can help them with, so our role is quite similar to that of a first aid station or a confessional. Still, something is being done there, we are giving them advice, comforting them, issuing various certificates, and somehow procuring credentials for them. I think that another advantage of our Bureau is that we always present ourselves in a human dimension. The recognition of the Republic of Croatia by the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] would resolve the majority of problems of those unfortunate people from both sides.

[Popovic] What is your cooperation with the state administration of the FRY like?

[Markovic] The cooperation is very good and at a highly professional level. I contact high state and political officials, from President Milosevic and Prime Minister Kontic to a great number of diplomats assigned to Belgrade. Protocols and convention are so present there that you can cause trouble only by your own thoughtlessness. Besides, I am a guest here who has no right to usurp anybody's right, except for my own or the Bureau's work. This is still a legitimate mission of the Croatian state and I have to abide by its legitimacy and repute.

As for my contacts with politicians, my attitude is always the same, be it Milosevic or Djilas, who does not belong to the ruling structure. I would like to meet Vuk Draskovic. I was recently at his place for four hours. At receptions I meet Micunovic, Zarko Korac of the Civil Council, who recently visited me, as well as many others. I think that the point is that I endeavor not to forget my human dimension, and that I do not provoke possible conflicts with anybody. I am trying to escape manipulative politics. The time is too difficult, laden with tragedy and losses of so many young lives. When I start a conversation, I talk simply with another man. Only in such a way can you see that in any man there exists honesty, morality, adopted civilizational norms, so when you transfer this to politics you see that wherever you go you take a part of yourself, which you will also find with other people. The more encounters you have, the better. Each time you will certainly encounter a human being, more or less of it. Much depends on what you look for.

[Box, page 2]

The Bureau of the Republic of Croatia is situated in Dedinje District, Cakorska Street No. 1A. On the building there is neither the Croatian coat of arms nor a flag which would suggest that it is the Croatian mission.

It is only the entrance gate, which is usually locked, where a brass plate stands, giving information on office hours. Every workday, from 0900 to 1800, 10 employees are attending to people who come to the Bureau with most various demands—for certificates, credentials....

The interior of the building, where we were taken by a security guard, previously having checked up on us, is

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also simply and modestly furnished, and only in the reception room, where a secretary received us, the picture of Franjo Tudjman hangs on the wall. Across the wall, on the mantelpiece, stands a picture of Pope John Paul II and a sculptured figure of a monk.

Markovic's office is quite in harmony with the other rooms. On his desk, as convention prescribes, there stands the checkered Croatian flag and a photo showing Clinton and Tudjman shaking hands. A particular place is certainly occupied by a framed photo of his elder granddaughter, while another, empty frame standing next to it awaits the first photo of Markovic's second, newborn granddaughter.

[Box, page 2]

[Popovic] What do you think about the FRY's policy and the peace efforts made by President Milosevic?

[Markovic] Milosevic is reality, and his recent compatibility with the international community is evident. Belgrade has become a significant place of the world's politics. Everybody is coming here, everybody believes that if Belgrade were to adopt a proper attitude the problems would be resolved, or at least it would lead toward solutions. This is what I have been constantly telling your president, and I have already met him three times. It is neither normal nor realistic to keep people stretched on a 1,300-km front, and additionally to take a part of Dalmatia, a part of Lika, a part of Banija, a part of Kordun, a part of Baranja, Slavonia, and Srem and make a new state. You should do what the entire world has done, that is, recognize the Croatian state. After that, you would be able to say: "Look, we have been fair to you, but our national community has some problems in your country; it fears Ustasha [Croatian fascists from World War II] combatants and feels insecure because of all the nonsenses that have been said in the meantime." I am investing my entire energy to achieve that Serbia finally recognizes Croatia. I think that behind all that happened stood a wrong idea of a greater Serbian state, stretching not to the Una River, but rather to the Kupa River, which does not deserve any comment.

Kontic Receives Libyan Envoy, Discuss B-H

LD2012084694 Tripoli JANA in English 0815 GMT 20 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tripoli, 20 Dec JAMAHIRIYAH NEWS AGENCY—Dr. 'Ali Abdel Salam al-Treiki, the envoy of the general people's committee for foreign liaison and international cooperation charged to make contacts with the three parties of conflict Muslims, Serbs and Croats, to follow-up the implementation of the initiative by the leader of the revolution to find a peaceful solution for the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, held a meeting in Belgrade today with the prime minister of Federal Yugoslavia.

The meeting exchanged the points of view on the events taking place in the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its developments.

The Yugoslav prime minister expressed his immense gratitude for the efforts exerted by the leader of the revolution to solve this crisis, in particular, and international issues, in general, and his constant determination to reach peaceful settlement for the damaging war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Bilateral Ties Discussed

LD1912220294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1714 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—:—Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic today received (Al-Turayki), Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's special envoy, with whom he held lengthy friendly talks.

According to the Federal Information Secretariat, the talks focused on the peaceful resolution of the crisis in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and the development of bilateral Yugoslav-Libyan ties.

The two men gave special emphasis on the importance of renewed cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Arab and Islamic countries, as well as Yugoslavia's return to the fold of the nonaligned nations. [passage omitted]

President Lilic Views Possible Peace Scenarios

BR1612160094 Brussels KNACK in Dutch 14 Dec 94 pp 117-120

[Interview with Yugoslav President Zoran Lilic by Frans Vuga in Brussels; date not given: "People and Land"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Vuga] You are boycotting the ethnic Serbs in Bosnia. Can you keep that up if they come under pressure? Not everyone in your country agrees with their isolation.

[Lilic] We decided to cut off the channels to Bosnia to hit the leaders of the Srpska republic there. It is a hard measure but not directed against the people. The leaders rejected the peace plan of the international contact group (United States, Russia, Germany, United Kingdom, and France). And [Serbian President] Milosevic, [Montenegro President] Bulatovic, and myself thought that this plan, despite all its shortcomings, was a good basis for achieving sufficiently just and durable peace in Bosnia. If the international community does not give enough support to our peace policy, then, of course, it will be difficult to continue to isolate the ethnic Serbs. Just as it would also be difficult for us to continue to commit ourselves to peace in the whole region. However, if the international boycott against my country, Yugoslavia, were to be lifted, then the war-mongering forces would be definitively discouraged. Such forces are present both in Belgrade and in all the population groups in Bosnia. In any case, the reason for the boycott has

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fallen away. (In 1992 the United Nations imposed sanctions on Yugoslavia for stoking up and supporting war in Bosnia—editor's note).

[Vuga] The judicial authorities in Belgrade are now attacking the independent paper BORBA. What do you think about the freedom of the press in your country? Most of the media no longer refers to the war in Bosnia.

[Lilic] BORBA will continue to exist and continue to write in accordance with the professional ethics of its journalists. In the meantime, a conflict over property must be clarified. The paper used to be public property and was privatized. The Audit Office must now decide whether the transaction took place legally. The process has nothing to do with its (critical—editor's note) editorial policy. It appears normal to me that no one should receive shares in a newspaper for nothing. The state has invested in BORBA for 50 years and now has only 17 percent of the shares. Something is wrong. But if the Audit Office rules that everything occurred legally then nothing will change in BORBA's status. And contrary to what you say, the other media do report on the war in Bosnia.

[Vuga] Including the television?

[Lilic] Yes, but no longer in the same way as before. Some leaders of the Srpska republic are named less in the state television's news programs (e.g., [Bosnian Serb leader] Radovan Karadzic—editor's note).

[Vuga] Should the ethnic Srpska republic continue to belong to Bosnia or should it join Serbia? And if it should join Serbia, when?

[Lilic] We will accept any solution whatsoever which flows from an agreement between Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in Bosnia. Logically, the right, which was given to the federation of Muslims and Croats (to join Croatia—editor's note) should be granted to the Bosnian Serbs as well, who will then decide whether to join Yugoslavia. By this approach we could get a relatively satisfactory situation in a relatively short time. A solution which satisfies everyone will be excluded in the region for a long time.

[Vuga] In its peace plan the contact group is giving 51 percent of Bosnia to the Muslims and Croats and 49 percent to the ethnic Serbs. To achieve this it will be necessary to exchange territory. Should Yugoslavia be involved, if it comes down to negotiations?

[Lilic] Yugoslavia should not interfere in matters like this exchange of territory. However, our duties include defending the interests of the entire Serb people. The 51-49 division may not be the fairest, but it offers a solution for ending the war and that is the most important thing. The loss in human life and destruction must be stopped. From all sides. It is clear that the economic resources and urban centers have been unjustly divided. But these problems can probably be solved bilaterally, between the parties involved.

For any serious state, territory and people are important. Territory without people is worthless. In the present situation, with the contact group plan, 1 percent of any territory whatsoever is not worth the loss of one human life.

[Vuga] Italy's South Tyrol, with its German-speaking majority, was given the autonomy that it desired under Austrian protection. Serbia could support the granting of autonomy to the ethnic Serbs in Bosnia and Croatia in the same way.

[Lilic] Autonomy does not go far enough, because the Serb people was a constituent part of the former Yugoslavia. It is the only southern Slav people which has not been given a universal right to self-determination by the international community.

The dissolution of Yugoslavia took place with support from abroad. It was a mistake to recognize the internal administrative borders between the members of the federation as external borders when they declared independence. That was shown in Bosnia-Herzegovina especially.

[Vuga] To get out of the international boycott, your country will have to recognize Croatia's borders. When will that happen?

[Lilic] This is an attempt to once again impose different conditions on Yugoslavia for the lifting of the embargo. The sanctions against Yugoslavia were announced after some 20 people unfortunately died in a bread queue in Sarajevo. The Serbs were accused of firing on the queue. However, afterwards it was established by the UN peacekeeping forces that the Muslims had carried out the attack. The incident was a pretext to punish us.

But in any event, recognizing Croatia is pointless as long as the peace conference on Yugoslavia (in Geneva—editor's note) is not finished, and all the contentious points have not been settled. The solution of the question of the Serb areas in Croatia is included in the peace plan which (U.S. mediator—editor's note) Cyrus Vance gave to us in the name of the international community, and which we signed. The plan provides for a solution in three phases. If the international community now wants to do things differently, then it is rejecting the peace plan which it wrote itself. Which shows that the international community is trying to globalize the problem.

Therefore in conclusion: Yugoslavia will recognize all the republics to emerge from the motherland once all the points on the agenda of the Geneva conference have been settled.

[Vuga] So does the following scenario appear plausible: 1. Yugoslavia recognizes its neighboring states; 2. the sanctions are lifted; 3. the great powers guarantee Yugoslavia that it will keep Kosovo; 4. Yugoslavia gets a stabilizing role in the Balkans.

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[Lilic] We do not need an international guarantee to keep Kosovo within Yugoslav borders. That is a domestic matter which we will settle. We are prepared to guarantee the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo that all human rights will be respected, we are willing to give them all the rights provided for by the CSCE and other bodies, and we are willing to grant a large degree of autonomy. But we are not willing to work on the realization of their dream of separating Kosovo from Yugoslavia—which is also the dream of some of their leaders.

So I would not go along with your scenario. Moreover, I fear that this way Yugoslavia cannot play a stabilizing role in the Balkans, that this way the Balkans would become even more unstable.

New Approach to Air Defense Training

95BA0055A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Sep 94 pp 6-7

[Article by Slavoljub Randjelovic: "The Backbone of Air Defense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the most recent changes in its organizational and military structure, the PVO [Air Defense] Corps has become a respectable operational arm of the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ], supplied with the equipment and weapon systems used by other countries, fighter planes, missile systems, and radars, fully capable of executing special-purpose missions in the air defense of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

Col. Slavko Biga, commander of the PVO Corps, emphasized this in an interview for the newspaper VOJSKA. He added that experiences in present-day wars show that the greatest danger to the security of any country, ours included, comes mainly from the air. The importance of air defense, then, is very great, and this necessitates a greater concern on the part of all structures in society, not just of military specialists and the Army. That is, the outcome of the war could in fact depend decisively on the effectiveness of air defense, because a possible adversary would most probably use air forces first in an attack on the FRY. The losses he would suffer, and from our standpoint they ought to be unacceptable to him, would certainly have an impact on the development or cessation of military operations.

The basic strength of the PVO Corps consists of fighter planes, PVO artillery and missile units, and VOJIN [air observation, reporting, and control] units. It is only with the most recent changes in the organizational and military structure that the air defense system has been entirely rounded out. That is, fighter units, which were previously in the Air Corps, have now become part of the PVO Corps. That is the most extensive, but also the most important, change in the RV [Air Force] and PVO, whereby, for practically the first time, a unified air defense has been achieved and the principle of "one air space, one commander" has been consistently implemented. The PVO Corps as a whole has become considerably more deadly, the use of forces in combat operations more efficient, and command more effective.

[Box, p 6]

Col. Slavko Biga, M.A.

Following graduation from the military academy, where he specialized in PVO ARJ [artillery and missile units], he served in missile units in Karlovac, Sisak, and Zagreb, where he held posts from missile guidance officer, then platoon and battery commander, artillery division commander, chief of an arm within the Corps, to commander of a missile regiment. In the meantime he graduated with distinction from the command-staff academy and operations school and took his master's degree in the School of Political Science, where he specialized in ONO [nationwide defense]. As commander of a missile regiment, he experienced the misfortunes of war and the armed conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and he came to the post of commander of the PVO Corps from the post of chief of the PVO ARJ arm within the VJ General Staff.

The Well-Rounded PVO System

It can rightfully be said that the corps is the backbone of the PVO system of the FRY, the principal air combat component, and the supplier of data on the situation in air space and on a potential enemy. The PVO Corps contains all structures necessary for conducting air defense. First of all, there are the VOJIN units, whose radars cover practically the entire space of our country and are the principal source of information about the situation in the air. Fighter forces, as the main force for maneuver, consisting of MiG-29's and other supersonic fighters, and missile units, representing the most numerous air defense force, deployed over the entire territory of the FRY, constitute the second component. In addition, facilities for automatic and conventional command guarantee effective use of the forces of the PVO Corps.

In practice these systems can wage combat against an adversary in air space from so-called extremely low to medium and high altitudes. The weapon systems and equipment which the KoPVO [PVO command] possesses belong to the middle and older generations, but they have confirmed their effectiveness and reliability in numerous exercises and target practice. The systems we possess are still in the armament of many other countries and have shown that they are good systems. More effective and up-to-date combat equipment does exist, Col. Biga said, but the human factor and also the operational condition of that equipment also have a large role in combat operations.

In the PVO Corps, therefore, they have by now managed, by investing no small effort, to maintain a high operational condition of equipment, especially combat systems. This was a real accomplishment when you bear in

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mind that because of the sanctions and the increasingly substantial problems in financing there has been a shortage of certain vital supplies and replacement parts. It is well-known that the RV and PVO are very sensitive to supply shortages, but also that the requirements as to the operational level are nevertheless very high.

Here we encounter once again the old truth: There are solutions in every situation provided people are willing to look for them until they find them. In order to maintain a high operational level in the PVO Corps, they tightened accountability all the way up and down the maintenance system and in all regular technical inspections of equipment.

Experts have tried to take a new approach to old problems. There have been innovations, but also improvisations we were forced to make, Col. Biga said, but even they have proven to be very effective. For example, one of the innovations in VOJIN units, an altogether original solution, although not completely in accord with the system's operating instructions, has extended the life of the most sensitive and very expensive imported electronic components considerably beyond the period which the manufacturer defined as the service life of those components. However, such solutions, indispensable in the present situation, can be found only by top experts. It is our good fortune to have them, but we are also trying to equip young officers as rapidly as possible to perform their duties in units effectively.

Present-day fighter planes, artillery and missile systems, and radar installations—if they are to be optimally used in peacetime, and still more in wartime—must have superbly trained crews. By the nature of things, they are mostly commissioned and noncommissioned officers. That is why the level of their professional and combat training is basically equivalent to the objective effectiveness of the air defense system.

A New Model of Training

Mindful of the specific nature of training—that the training of conscripts is important, but the training of officers still more important—a new model for the training of officers, men, commands, and units was prepared in the PVO Corps and applied in practice. It was also shown to the responsible officers in the VJ General Staff, and consent was given to apply that model regardless of standing orders.

By contrast with practice in the past, when the training of young soldiers, officers, and combat teams was organized side by side in all units, the new training model departs from the well-known schemes. The essence is to reevaluate the specific subjects, topics, problems, and their importance to the training of personnel. Some subjects are covered independently of the time prescribed—as long as is necessary for them to be mastered fully.

The focus in training is on organized courses. As a rule, they are taught by the best and most experienced experts, people who know how to pass on their knowledge to younger officers. In addition, conscripts are brought together in just one of the units in the regiment or brigade to train together for a certain time concerning specific subjects. This has improved the economic efficiency of training: there are fewer absences, the quality of preparation of the officers who do the training can be improved, and other units can pay more attention to training officers, commands, and units.

The essence, then, lies in providing better conditions and more time for the training of officers in military specialties, which is the key to success in air defense, Col. Slavko Biga emphasized. It might be said that the new model of training has successfully passed the tests so far and that what lies ahead, in keeping with the conclusions of the semiannual analysis, is to ground the system of combat training in the Corps on experiences and on values confirmed in practice, with particular emphasis on the joint training of air force units and missile units.

The Corps command is following on a daily basis the process of training in subordinate commands and units, although it has afforded them great independence in shaping their training plans according to the present level of training, real needs, and their own capabilities. It should be borne in mind in this connection that the units organizing training are very familiar with the framework, the guidelines are clear, and commands can adapt the form and methods of training to the actual situation.

The new model of training has been accepted from the outset. This was not of course unexpected, since the idea of organizing training this way and of real innovation in training grew up out of the basic units, originating with officers who had been solving specific problems and facing demands which sometimes were contradictory: simultaneously conducting combat and professional training of officers, training of conscripts, and maintenance of equipment. A special team in the Corps command examined and adopted those proposals, and all that was left was to prove the validity of that idea in practice.

Around-the-Clock Combat Watch

The most specific feature of work in air defense units is that the officer trains the men, but he is also training himself in combat procedures, he is using the equipment and materiel in combat operations, he is also doing their technical maintenance and repairing breakdowns. Personnel of PVO units all have two work stations: one in carrying out daily tasks and another during combat.

Command is particularly significant, especially when it comes to command of the PVO Corps—executive command from the operations center of the KoPVO—that is, use of PVO forces. The commander who has a better system for automation of command has an advantage and also can command more easily. The computer supplies data on targets, friendly forces, and capabilities. It even proposes specific decisions. In practice in such

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situations the commander is supposed to merely accept the decision offered. However, the commander of the PVO Corps must for the present have most of that data in his head. And he makes decisions without suggestions from the computer. And he must make decisions relatively frequently and in a restricted time frame.

The around-the-clock combat watch in the air defense system is an additional feature of the work of members of the Corps, but also a burden, since a great many people and substantial equipment and weapon systems are committed all 24 hours of every day in the year. The demands for a high level of training and psychophysical fitness are understandable, since in the PVO even seconds are a long time.

The commander of the PVO Corps particularly emphasized that a great many men and units were on the territory of the former Yugoslav republics which have now seceded. These people preserved and evacuated combat equipment entrusted to them. Not a single unit fell into enemy hands. But those same people usually reached this territory without their property, their housing situation has not been resolved, and they are truly in a difficult situation. In spite of that, they are delivering quality performance of their tasks.

In addition, many units have literally found themselves on barren ground and lack basic conditions for their life and work. Better working conditions have nevertheless been created thanks to the extensive commitment of all commands and individuals.

Finally, Col. Biga stressed that members of the PVO Corps are giving everything of themselves so that combat readiness of all structures and units will be at the necessary level under these problematical conditions. That is, a potential aggressor would quite certainly be well armed, would possess modern weapon systems and trained crews, but still he would not be omnipotent. He would be vulnerable and would be highly sensitive in that regard. At the same time, we have no choice but to resolutely oppose an enemy. That is why we must be so well trained and capable that a potential enemy will be persuaded that his losses will be unacceptable to him.

There is no perfect air defense. However, the PVO Corps is the first echelon and is supposed to detect an attacker from the air and react appropriately. I am certain that we will use the means we have in knowledgeable fashion, that we will make maximum use of their combat capability, Col. Slavko Biga said.

The message is more than clear: If we are attacked, the greatest danger threatens us from the air. That is why we should all realize the importance of building a strong air defense system, of which the PVO Corps is the pillar and main component.

President of Yugoslav United Left Interviewed

95BA0052B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 4 Nov 94 pp 14-15

[Interview with Dr. Nenad Djordjevic, chief of Yugoslav United Left, by Luka Miceta; place and date not given: "Correcting Marx"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "Give any man a million dollars, and he will become a communist. When a man is prosperous enough, he can also afford some things that do not bring him any benefit whatsoever, except for some personal satisfaction—for example, being the head of YUL [Yugoslav United Left]."

Full name: Nenad Djordjevic.

Occupation: businessman, owner of the VTS firm.

Year of birth: 1949.

Educational background: college, a doctor of sciences.

Personal characteristics: none.

Marital status: divorced, father of one daughter.

Value of the firm: $120 million (according to him).

Previous occupations: worked for State Security and he was a professor at the University.

Political orientation: a leftist, head of YUL, and of interest to the media for that reason.

The interview follows:

[Miceta] "In our country power is associated with politics, and not with business. In the West, capital appoints politicians and keeps them more or less dependent upon its own interests. In our country, however, there is still no individual or group that can influence the power structures," you said once. Can it be said that politics here appoints businessmen and that it replaces them, depending on its own interests?

[Djordjevic] Until 1989 we had a system in which committees and DPO [sociopolitical organizations] appointed or replaced enterprise directors. That is undeniable. Now the pluralism of political relations is creating a new quality, creating a new stratum of people who are beginning to engage in business. Would this kind of success by the right wing have been possible without the support of capital? Significant capital was necessary in order for them to be able to engage in that political struggle. That capital was not given to them by the state. The one who provided the capital also wants to have a share in the power. That is logical. I am certain that all the subsequent elections will be more and more elections of capital.

[Miceta] Isn't it precisely the formation of private enterprises through the transformation of the ownership of state firms an attempt to create the backbone of an economic infrastructure that is supposed to prevent the

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creation of real private enterprises and corporations, which tomorrow, through the strength of their capital, could influence politics and the appointment of politicians? With this system that is developing now, is everything staying in the family?

[Djordjevic] Let me tell you immediately that VTS is not a parastatal firm; it has never been and it never will be. VTS has exclusively my capital, which was earned through my own knowledge and work.

[Miceta] I am asking you this because your position as head of YUL was not any kind of position. In that position, do you have very close relations with the principal power centers in Serbia?

[Djordjevic] As president of YUL, I have had only harm and no benefit at all. People have actually proceeded from the opposite position: that I should not be helped at all, so that no one could say what you did. In that context, I would like to find a firm that will say that it has done anything for me, a single one. There is no such firm that has looked askance at me, because interest is the essence of all business.

[Miceta] You say that you have had only harm as the president of YUL? You do not seem like anyone who would work to harm himself.

[Djordjevic] I have often said jokingly, "Give any man a million dollars and he will become a communist." What I mean is that when a man is prosperous enough, he can also afford some things that do not bring him any benefit at all except some sort of personal satisfaction.

[Miceta] You think that "socialism is the most humane system, but it did not have an economic justification." Part of the sentence is indisputably correct: Socialism did not have an economic justification. Do you think that socialism can be achieved now by people like you, capitalists with a communist face?

[Djordjevic] Self-management socialism was the most humane form of social organization. We mixed up many things in that humanity, however.

[Miceta] Which ones?

[Djordjevic] There is no self-management in the technology of labor. In the self-management system, however, the self-managers also talked about the technology of labor, and that is intolerable. Furthermore, in a self-management system income relations have to apply, and they did not at that time in our country. The working class has to be allowed an adequate income, and the possibility of participating in the decisionmaking process, but not in the substantive consequences of technology, only in the realm of the distribution of part of the profits.

[Miceta] How do you perceive yourself now? As a capitalist or a communist, and is a symbiosis of capitalist and communist possible?

[Djordjevic] I perceive myself as a person. What does "capitalist" mean? You are also a capitalist, only a little capitalist, while I am a big capitalist.

[Miceta] Perhaps, but I do not have workers.

[Djordjevic] You can be a capitalist even without workers.

[Miceta] Do you exploit your workers, or are you a capitalist like Engels?

[Djordjevic] What do you mean by exploitation? Give me an answer!

[Miceta] You are a Marxist, so you probably know what exploitation is.

[Djordjevic] I asked you this because when Marx did an analysis of capital and when he talked about exploitation, he neglected two small facts.

[Miceta] And those are?

[Djordjevic] When you analyze Marx's formula, money-labor-money, where he says that goods are bought for money or when one engages in the process of production and so goods are produced, after which they are sold on the market, where profit is created on the basis of the difference between the cost of production and the market price—you realize that he sees exploitation there. Marx, however, never talked about where capitalists got the initial capital from, and he did not talk anywhere about the role of the organizer of the job and his value. Accordingly, the following question arises: Who contributes more to this society? You or I? Who is more humane? You or I? Who makes a bigger contribution to the progressive development of the state? You or I?

[Miceta] Let us understand each other. I do not have anything against a capitalist; I am only afraid of capitalism built by communists.

[Djordjevic] Does the idea of man, his understanding and concept of the world, depend only on money?

[Miceta] Naturally not!

[Djordjevic] And why do you think that when I was brought up in the communist spirit for 40 years, I could change my beliefs and opinions in a year or two? Do you understand me?

[Miceta] There is nothing disputable about that, except that the two characteristics that define you—capitalist and communist—conflict with each other. You, as a person with two ideas, now want today to build a society opposite to what you fought for yesterday.

[Djordjevic] I never fought against capitalism, because I lived under socialism and I fought for socialism.

[Miceta] I will have to remind you: In 1985, in the book *"Security and Yugoslavia,"* you wrote, "a) nationalism is actually the ideology of the bourgeoisie... b) nationalism in Serbia is manifested in the form of liberalism... c) the

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essence of liberalism is reflected in the restoration of capitalist relations, on the basis of ideological and political pluralism... d) the advocates of anarcho-liberalist tendencies support the reaffirmation of bourgeois ideas and concepts... e) the anarcho-liberals have a vision of a new society in which different ideologies would exist on an equal basis." You wrote all that in the fourth section, which is entitled "Yugoslav Enemies." Do you consider yourself an enemy of this Yugoslavia?

[Djordjevic] When I spoke about nationalism in Yugoslavia, I felt that it was part of the separatist policy that was leading to the collapse of Yugoslavia. It was manifested differently in different parts of Yugoslavia. Its goal was the creation of national states modeled after the capitalist states, which was contrary to the established political values of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [SFRY]. A critical attitude toward the bourgeois ideas of the nationalists was reflected in the criticism of their position that there were no values in the SFRY as a cultural heritage, and that all values should be adopted from the capitalist system. My position on that question has remained the same. The value categories of self-management socialism in the sphere of the social superstructure can be considered a cultural heritage. My critical attitude was focused on the sphere of economic relations, since the economic system did not function on the basis of the market, but rather on the basis of a contractual economy. In the second place, I was talking about capitalism as a political category, and not as an economic category, and that is the difference.

[Miceta] And what is the difference?

[Djordjevic] The political dimension of capitalism, among other things, is nationalist, and originated independently of property relationships. Property relationships create the possibility of accumulating capital for the one who holds title to the property. In a large number of West European states, for example, state capital is dominant over other forms of property. The national interest therefore becomes dominant over the interests of individuals and groups. That is why I spoke about capitalism as a political category and not an economic one. What I mean is that it is not essential how much capital there is, but rather the extent to which it serves society.

[Miceta] And who represents capital?

[Djordjevic] If you encourage the development of society with your capital, then it is not essential.

[Miceta] Didn't Hitler also encourage the development of Germany?

[Djordjevic] Yes, but his ideology was wrong.

[Miceta] And yours, naturally, is not?

[Djordjevic] It is not. I mean that society can guide ideology.

[Miceta] How?

[Djordjevic] My ideology can be guided, for instance, through tax policy.

[Miceta] A little while ago you said that big businessmen would appoint politicians and create policy, and thus tax policy as well.

[Djordjevic] That happens everywhere in the world. Do you think that Clinton got to be U.S. president because he was the best politician in America? No, it was because he was backed by financial capital and it is his duty to defend the interests of financial capital. That is quite normal in the West.

[Miceta] But it is not normal in the West that the principal capitalists are communists, and that an economic infrastructure is formed from big businessmen from the left wing who will allow the left and the communists to rule again.

[Djordjevic] That is simply not true. There are leftists even in the political leaderships of the developed capitalist countries.

Central Committee Communist Party Elects Leader

LD1912221194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1727 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 19 Dec (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party has elected its president—Branko Loza, a worker from Obrenovac. Loza was elected president at the party's 16th congress in Kotor, which has just ended. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Government Issues Restrictions on FRY Entry

AU2012112494 Podgorica MONITOR in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 94 pp 12, 13

[Article by Seki Radoncic: "Home—Ever More Distant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Even though the federal government issued special instructions on entry into Yugoslavia as early as the middle of last month—by which its own citizens are unscrupulously discriminated against and basic human rights are violated—there has not been any reaction yet by the democratically orientated public.

The government—which did not even bother looking back, let alone worry, when its citizens hurriedly fled the country—obviously wants to prevent their reappearance with this decree, which many compare with the one from the times of yellow armbands. Some people feel it is all about the continuation of ethnic cleansing, or rather its legalization.

According to the instructions, entry into FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] will be denied to those who

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have applied for asylum in the countries where they are residing now, passport holders with serial numbers denoting the seceded republic of the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], holders of Yugoslav passports (Muslims and Croats) in which it is stated that their place of residence is outside FRY territory, and holders of Croatian passports, as well as Muslim passports (!?)—that is, passports of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina.

According to government officials, the federal government has issued these instructions to prevent the mass entry of false asylum- seekers. The government is disturbed that the countries of West Europe—in which there are more than 200,000 false asylum-seekers, 95 percent of whom are Albanians—are now trying to return those Serbian and Montenegrin citizens to their respective homelands.

Mahmed Hajziri, member of the presidency of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, says that they have learned from the press of the government's decision to deny the refugees' return, and adds: "At first glance, the restrictions and precepts appear to be of an administrative nature, but in essence, their nature is political. They aim to ethnically cleanse Kosovo. It is known that many ethnic Albanians fled Kosovo because of police torture, repression, the draft for the war, unemployment, and so forth. Now those people are not allowed to return to their homes, while, on the other hand, the colonization of Kosovo by several hundreds of Serbs is being announced, the majority of whom are refugees from other parts of the former Yugoslavia. This government decision clearly aims to change the ethnic structure of Kosovo's population."

While the federal government claims there are 200,000 ethnic Albanians from Serbia and Montenegro who have applied for asylum abroad, the ethnic Albanian alternative claims that the number is far greater. In one of the previous issues of MONITOR, academician Redzep Cosja points out that more than 600,000 have emigrated from Kosovo under Milosevic's government alone. If this is true, the question is raised: Are the Serbian authorities—this time through the federal government—trying to conceal the true number of ethnic Albanian emigres?

"It is obvious that with such a restrictive policy on, as the government puts it, false asylum-seekers' return, the Kosovo Albanians and the Muslims from Sandzak are most affected, as well as the ethnic Hungarians from Vojvodina," Rasim Ljajic, secretary general of the Party of Democratic Action of Sandzak, says and adds: "We believe that in the past two and a half years, some 70,000 people have temporarily emigrated, while some of them have even applied for temporary residence permits, the so-called "duldung." The government's intent to change the demographic structure is confirmed by a clause in the decree that the citizens of the FRY (Muslims and Croats) who hold Yugoslav passports and whose places of residence are outside FRY territory are denied entry into Yugoslavia.

"As for Sandzak, it is precisely its border areas near Bosnia that teem with such cases. This means that the government's decision was induced by "political" (demographic) reasons in the first place, while the intention of some local authorities in Sandzak to build apartments solely for the Serbian cadre, as is stated, fits in with all this quite well.

Although the regime wants to represent the special instructions issued by the government as the intention to prevent the return of ethnic Albanian asylum-seekers, the decision has been made in general terms, so the conclusion can be drawn that it will not apply only to non-Serbs but also to some ideological misfits. For instance, the most famous Montenegrin asylum-seeker, author (and opponent of the current Serbian-Montenegrin authorities) Jevrem Brkovic, has been granted asylum in Croatia. If the government's instructions are strictly observed, he will not be allowed to return to Montenegro, at least not as long as this government is in power!

According to Natasa Kandic, director of the Foundation for Humanitarian Rights in Belgrade, these government instructions violate constitutional principles. She has been informed that passport control at Belgrade airport is carried out immediately after passengers disembark a plane.

"Practice shows that it is not an isolated action, but rather a drastic deterioration and new course, as well as a new attitude toward the returnees. The instructions are an illegal option, which means that when the government issues an instruction rather than pass a law, it is using illegal means," Kandic concludes.

However, those who are in power in Serbia and Montenegro still seem to be taking an interest in asylum-seeker rights. The federal government has entrusted the Federal Foreign Ministry with the task of informing the UNHCR in Geneva and other relevant international organizations on the attempts of mass returns made by false asylum-seekers so they can begin to prevent forceful deportation and the violation of human rights.

The principled government, however, has not turned to the international organizations to persuade them to prevent the violation of any man's basic human right—the right to live in his or her own country. Nevertheless, Milorad Ivanovic, head of the Direction for Consular Affairs to the Federal Foreign Ministry, stated that the FRY was not evading the constitutional obligation to take in all its citizens. He also pointed out that Yugoslavia was not able to take in 200,000 false asylum-seekers, as well as 500,000 refugees from other parts of the former Yugoslavia, in such a short time.

Ivanovic also explained that the Yugoslav side is negotiating with Switzerland and Sweden, while it also plans

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to start negotiations with Germany. Those negotiations are expected to provide some more data on those people willing to come back, as well as information on their property in Yugoslavia. However, in order for the West not to think that—God forbid—the property of the false asylum-seekers in the homeland will be taken away from them, Ivanovic says that their return to Yugoslavia should be discussed as well. Of course, he expects concrete financial aid from the aforementioned countries.

The return of the huge number of asylum-seekers in the country would undoubtedly change the current demographic structure of the population, particularly in Kosovo, while the return of Serbian, Montenegrin, Muslim, ethnic Hungarian, and other refugees would change (quite considerably indeed) the electorate in Serbia and Montenegro because it is logical to presume that the people who left the country because of such a regime certainly would not vote for it. On the other hand, such a serious regime certainly would not forget this substantial detail either.

Deciding between the enormous subsidies that they are paying for Yugoslav asylum-seekers (accommodation, welfare benefits, health-care services, and even employment) and their forceful deportation back home, the Western countries have chosen this other possibility, even though they are thereby calling into question their assessments that in Serbia and Montenegro, human rights are being violated.

Perhaps their decision may be justified by the fact that they do not want to be accomplices in ethnic cleansing carried out by Belgrade. However, it seems that, because of money, they forget about principles as well.

The "Particular Instructions for the Entry in the FRY" has come into force. For that reason, Ivanovic's statement probably serves to soothe reactions of the international public.

Or perhaps it may be understood as a message to the West that, if it wants to get rid of false asylum-seekers, it will have to pay quite a high price for that.

[Box, p 12]

Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians, estimates that between 35,000 and 40,000 ethnic Hungarians have emigrated from Serbia.

"We have been searching for that decree for days but cannot find it. Obviously, it is a kind of internal decree. All we know is what we read in the newspapers. We expect concrete examples of its implementation—that is, that people contact us—and then we shall take a concrete action," Agoston says.

Says Rade Ratkovic, member of the presidency of the Helsinki Committee of Montenegro: "While all the serious countries take care of their citizens wherever they may be, by such instructions human rights are being drastically violated, because they have to do with the discrimination against citizens on the part of their own country. The country of which they are citizens is obliged to take them in. The Western countries are trying to return the refugees, but this regime, like many times before, is showing that it does not want to comply with international principles. Rather, it is imposing sanctions against their own citizens. It is clear that the issue has to do with the illegal and immoral restriction of its citizens' rights."

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